Buddhist Remains in Andhra

The History of Andhra



between 225 & 610 A.D.

K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A.

WITH A FOREWORD

DR. G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL

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AND

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3 MAPS AND 6 PLATES.

WITH A FOREWORD

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DR. G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL

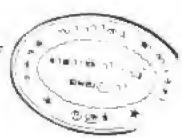
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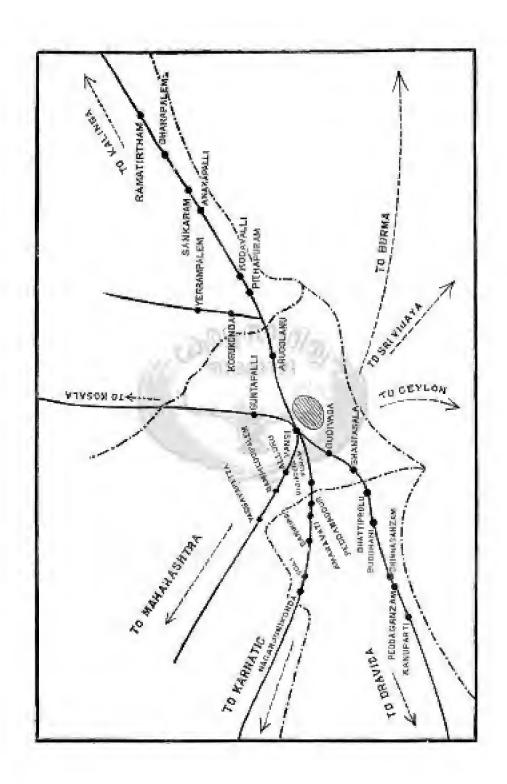
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DEDICATED TO M. R. RY.

C. R. REDDI GARU, M.A. (CANTAB)
THE FIRST VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE
ANDHRA UNIVERSITY,
AS A TOKEN OF THE AUTHOR'S
HIGH REGARD
FOR HIS GREAT INTELLECTUAL
CAPACITIES AND BROAD
CULTURAL OUTLOOK.



FOREWORD

The work of Mr. Subramanian will give the reader very complete details concerning—

- Archæology of the Andhra country.
- Its history during the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth centuries,

I think that as Preface for this book it would be well that I fix-

- 1, in space (on the map) the archæological remains,
- 2. in time (chronology) the historical facts.

Section 1. Geographical position of Archaelogical remains in Andhra.

In examining the map opposite, one will find the Buddhist sites placed along certain lines. The country of Vengi was a great meeting place of roads. Five great routes converged at that place:

- The road to Kalinga (North-East),
- The road to Dravida (South),
- The road to Kamatic (South-West),
- The road to Mahārāshtra (North-West),
- The road to Kośala (North).

These five roads converged towards the country of Vengi which lay along the coast. Some great ports existed in this country and from them ships used to start to Chryse, i.e., the country of gold, Burma and Sri Vijaya.

We have absolute proof of the fact that the country of Vengi had a preponderating influence on the civilisation of Burma, of Malaya states and of Indo-China. This proof is supplied to us by the alphabet of the inscriptions found there.

One would believe that Burma had close relations with Bengal and less relations with Vengi. It is quite the contrary. A Buddhist stupa discovered recently in old Prome contained inscriptions in Kanarese-Telugu script of the Sixth Century. We know that from early times the alphabet of Indo-China was derived from that of Vengi. Thus, these overseas countries were making use of the alphabet of Vengi and not of the alphabet of the Gangetic valley.

The commerce of India with the Far East was not carried, as one would think, through the port of Tamarlioti (Tamink) octate ports of Orissa. It is from the country of Vengi that Indian ships sailed to go to the Far East.

We are astonished at this; for, we are accustomed to consider the arouths of the Gauges as a great centre of maritime commerce. This illusion is produced by the importance of the big modern town of Calentia.

But, we must understand that the valley of the Ganges is not a coastal region.

On the contrary, through the valleys of the Godávari and the Krishna, the hig routes of the Decom converge towards the sea in the country of Venga.

Such being the case, let us consider the map of the Buddhist sites. These sites are numerous. There are some thirty of them. And all the Euchibist sites are along the five great routes that we have cited.

- On the road to Kalinga, Yengi, Aragola, Pithapuram, Kodavalli, Anakapalle, Sankavam, Dharapalem, Ramatirtham, Salihondam.
- On the road to the south, Gudiyāda, Ghantašāla, Bhattiprolu, Buddhēni, Chinna and Pedda Gaōjam and finally Kanuparti.
- On the road to the Karnatic, the sites of Vijayadërpuram (Bezwida), Peddamaddur, Amarayati, Garikipidu, Göli, Nagarpurihondu.
- On the read to Muhiirāshim are found Allaru, Kamireddipalle, Jaggayyapēja.
- 5. Lastly, at the beginning of the road to Kosala which started from Vengl and followed the Godavari to go to the centre of India via Nagpar, we find the site of Gentapelle. Another road towards the north lay through Korukonda and Verrampälem. It was because the Baddhist monks lived on charity, they were obliged to live near the big towns and the great roads in spite of their love for solitude and meditation.

I think that it is necessary to mention these routes, for we are familiar with the present-day geography only. We must therefore say here what the old road map was.

 Road to Kalinga. If you look at a modern map, you see that there is absolutely no road in the region comprised between the Kollero lake and the sea. The whole right bank of the river Upputtern is devoid of villages and roads.

³ Dr. J. Debreuil is of opinion that Chejfiela is not Buddhist.

The Grand road, therefore, lay on the north of the Kolleru lake through Vengi and Arugolu and crossed the Godavari probably near Dowleswaram through the island of Bobberlanka. This place is precisely the one where the sacred river which, so far, was running in one stream divided itself into many branches. Dowleswaram situated near the source of the Gautami must have been particularly sacred for the pions Buddhists. Thus, the Grand road to Kalinga lay far away from the mouth of the Godavari, and it is for this reason that no Buddhist site is found in the delia of the Godavari. From Dowleswaram the road led to Pithapuram where there was a stupa; then, towards the well-known site of Kodavalli; thereafter the road followed the coast through Anakapalle and Śankaram, Dhārapalem near Simhāchalam and, finally, Rāmatīrtham.

2. Road to Dravida. Gudivāda was a very important town. It was the capital of the Küdüra country. A good road councils even to-day Peddavēgi (through Ellore) and Gudivāda. This good modern road continues as far as Parnārru. It is probable that the island of Potarlanka favoured the passage across the Krishpā; for, this place was surrounded by three famous sanctuaries: Śrikākulam which was probably Buddhist in olden days and on each side of the river two isig stūpas, Ghantasāda on the left bank and Bhattiprodu on the right. Potarlanka is the biggest island in the Krishpā. So, in the Roman epoch, the capital of the country was Mālanka (the big island). That is perhaps the reason why the inhabitants of Śrikākulam say that the capital was in a place situated in the middle of the Krishpā. It is there that Anantapāla the minister of Šīmukha, the King of the Āndhras, lived.

It must be noted that even to-day/the town of Repaile is isolated and a fine road connects Bhattiprola with Bapatla through Buddhani where were discovered Buddhist statuetres. The road from Bapatla to Ongole is now followed by the rail and it is on that road that you find Chinna and Pedda Ganjani and Kanapatla.

- 3. Road to the Karnütie. It crossed the Krishna probably in its largest width between Vijayadhërpuram and Peddomaddur not far from Amaravati. More to the west is Garikapadu. Finally, the road crossed the Krishna near about Göli and Nägärjunikonda.
- 4. Road to Mahārāshtra. It commenced probably in the cuvirous of Allieu and passed pear Rāmireddipalle to join

Jaggayyapēta from where it turned towards Tagara (Tēr) and then towards Sopien of Bhornkkacha,

5. We know only of one site on the route from Vengi to Kosala and it is Guntapalle. The road followed the Godavari for some distance and then turned towards Nagpur and from there towards Northern India. A second road started from Rajahmundry and passed through the Buddhist sites of Korukonda and Yerrampälem.

Thus, we see that all the Buddhist sites known at present are found along the grand roads of communication.

Section 11. The chronology from 150 to 610 A.D.

In 150 a.b. Rudradāman ruled over Aparānta. He was replaced in this country by Cantamāputra Yajān Šsi. In fact, we have found in the ruins of the stupa of Sopāra constructed by Yajān a coin belonging to this king, quite different from the ordinary coins of the Andbras. It is a silver coin and it bears the offigy of the king, Yajān. As this piece is evidently an imitation of the coins of Rudradāman it is not doubtful that Yajān reigned innvediately after Rudradāman in Aparanta.

if we place Yajia towards 170 or 190 a.n., and, if we can believe the references of the Purious that after Yajia, ruled the three kings Vijaya, Chandra Sri Santikarna and Pulomā, the last king should have lived towards 225 a.n., and the dynasty of the Satavahasas would have ceased to reign towards 230–240 a.n.

In the Mahārāshtra the Sātavāhanas would have been replaced by the Åbhiras. In fact the inscription (No. 1137 of Lāgācr's list) at Nāsik the script of which resembles that of the Śātavāhanas is dated in the ninth year of the reign of the King Mādharīputra Išvamšēna an Ābhira, son of Ṣivadatta. In the Tehugu country it was the Ikshvākus who replaced the Ṣātavāhanas. I think it necessary to draw attention here to a detail which seems to have escaped the historian's attention till now. The Ikshvāku king hare the name of Porushadatta which has the same termination Datic' as the Ābhira Śivadatta. Besides, there is a king with the surname Mādhariputra (same as Purushadatta's) in the Nāsik

^{*} Väsuloulatia nophew of Käln the Niga Rüja (in story), Captain Kemiänullatia of Myakariani ins. and Swambaria (i Kotturu may be noted here. K.R.S.

inscription. Thus, these kings who were the successors of the Satavahanas and who must have been nearly contemporaneous, bore very similar names. They lived probably in the middle of the Third Century A.D. (250 A.D.)

These Ikshvākus seem to have had matrimonial relations with the Šakas of Ujjain.

The second balf of the Third Century 250-300 a.p. seems to have been marked in the Deccan by a vast expansion of the Sakas of Ujjain. On the banks of the Krishok at Karad 31 miles south of Satāra a treasure was found containing coins of Vijayasēna, Damajadašri 111, Rudrasēna, Visvasimha, Bhartridāman und Visvasēna. This last king ruled from 296-300 a.p. Besides, a treasure discovered at Amarāvasi in the Berars contained coins of Rudrasēna 256-272 a.p.

We may conclude that the Sakas of Ujjain were masters of Mahattishtra in the second half of the Third Century A.D. The treasure of Karad contained a coin of Rudragana. This king ruled in Aparanta, for 500 pieces of silver of this king were found at Daman. They tell us that Rudragana was the son of the king Indrayaman. This king waose name ends in varman religned therefore in Aparanta towards the end of the Third Century. It is to be noted that in the same epoch there appears in the Karnatic a dynasty of Pailava princes whose names end in varman.

These Pallava kings who ruled over the countries of Banaväsl and Amaravati had their capital at Känchipuram.

They took the place of the Ikshväkus towards 275 A.o., Many hypotheses have been built as regards the origin of the Pallavas. The word 'Pallava' is nearly identical with the word 'Pallava' which was the name of princely families in the kingdom of the Sakas. The ending varman is not met with anywhere in the Decean before the Third Century, and it is in Aparanta that we find Indeavarinan whose name ends in this manner. It is not doubtful, in my opinion, that it was at the time when the Sakas ruled in the upper valley of the Krishna that the Pallavas succeeded in creating for themselves a kingdom south of that river at Banavasi and Amarayati.

They could not, however, maintain their position there for a long time. In the country of Banaväsi the Pallavas were replaced by the Kadambas. In the country of Amaravatī they were replaced by the family of the king, Kandara, of the gotra of Ananda,

In my article Amararati from A.D. 100-700 (Q. J. A. H. R. S., vol. v. Part ii, Oct. 1930) I have shown that this family of Kandara reigned in the Fifth Century and was replaced during the second half of the Fifth Century by the Vishnukundins who reigned up to 610 A.D.

The history of these epochs was for a long time very obscure. Little by little more light is thrown upon it,

The Andhras seem to us a glorious case. To them we owe the school of Amariwa; sadpture, the philosophical school of Nügürjuna, and it is probably from the Andhra ports that the vessels which have civilised Indo-China, Java and Sumatra started.

The excellent book of Mr. Subramanian will be, to the modern Audhres, a powerful stimulant. A country which was so glorious in the past is destined to be glorious in the future,

Notionally 39, 1931. G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL



PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR

In the following pages is recorded the result of my work as Guntur District Board Feliow during the year 1928-9. I beg to convey my respectful thanks to the Rajah Saheb Babadur of Vixlanagram for having granted me leave of absence from the College on half say for one year and thus enabled me to take upthe Fellowship. I am highly obliged to the Anthra University for having chosen me as the first Guntur Fellow and financed my tour in March 1929 to study some of the Andhra monoments in situ. It was in the conese of that thur that I discovered an image of the Buddha in white morble in a deserted Flanuman tempie in I have presented the image to the Andhra Jaggavyapēta. University and written so article on the same (with its photo) in the *Hindu Illustrated Weekly for* July 27, 1530. Subsequently the University has arranged under its auspices for two courses of lectures by me on the subject as my study, at Cocanada and Vizagapatnam, in March 1930 and December 1931. My thanks are due to Ms. C. R. Reddi Gazu for permitting me to dedicate this book to him as a token of my high regard for him. During the year of my Fellowship I worked under the late lamented scholar Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Lyengar (then Reader in the Madras University and subsequently Professor in the Annamalai University), and I must acknowledge with gratitude his valuable. guidance. I sorely seel his loss as he promised to go through the proof-sheets and write a Foreword. My sorrow has been assumed to some extent by the ready higdness of Dr. Dubreail of Pondicherry who has written the Foreward. The distinguished Doctor is the most competent reason in the field covered by my book and, in fact, I wanted to work under him but could not do so. as he went home during the year. But, I cannot easily lorget his enthusiasm, encouragement and hospitality when I first met The at Pondicherry in June 1928. He has now placed use under a debt of gratitude which it is not easy to discharge, The Archæological department has been very kind in supplying me with the photographs reproduced in this book, and the Editor of the Hindu Who trained Wirkly has been so good as in allow me to utilise my articles to his valuable paper on The Nagarjanukonda Eccavations. (2-3-30), Nayarjuna Bodhisativa (16-3-30), The Iksheakus of the Decom (30-3-30), Andhra Culture Abraud (13-4-30), Early Andhra History: The Telugus, their hand and language (18-5-30), Jaggayupeta (27-7-30), Sungharama (12-10-30), Golf with Nagarjunahanda sulptures (19-10-30), and Amarandi (21-12-30) and (28-12-30). My thanks are also due to Mr. V. Narayanan, M.A., M.L., Advocate, and Mr. A. V. Venkotaraman, M.A., L.T. (then Curatur), for having read through some chapters of my book and offered a few valuable suggestions, and to Mr. S. Schriva Acharya, e.a., Tutor in French. Andhra University, for having given me, at my request, a free translation of the Preface written by Dr. Dubreuil.

It is designable, in my opinion, to make a few remarks in this preface on the subject-matter of the bank worked at nearly three years ago. My interest in the history of Andhra Raddhism was roused some years ago by a visit to Ramatittham (about 8 miles from Vizianagram), where one indy study the various stages of our religious evolution, viz.; Sakti worship (in the Durgatondo), Buddhism (in the *Bodikowka* corrupted into *Bodikowka* as the hill is bold). Jainism (in the Gurybhakkalukanda and elsowhere), and Saive and Voishmaya cults, the latter represented by traditions of Rămănuja's visit and by the electrics of Manayalamohimuni. My appetite for more knowledge was whetted by a study of the remains of Ling#lakends (a bill of stupes actually) or Bollmakends. (a corruption of Huddhaanakonda) in Satighāranat near Anakasmile. Fascinated by the subject, i collected together facts of the Buildhist remains in Andhra as a more hubby and defivered a fecture on the sume on November 19, 1926, which was subsequently reproduced in the Maharaja's Callege Magazine (vol. vi., Considerable impetus was given to my work in this field by the startling discoveries of Dr. Jouveau-Debreuil, Mr. A. R. Saraswati and Mr. Longburst in the district of Gumbe. I then applied to the Andhra University for some help to enable. me to study some of the easily-accessible remains in the Applicadistricts (May 1927).

So, when I was appointed to do some research work in July 1928, I naturally decided that the legacies of the age of Nagariana and far-famed Amaravati should be collected together and presented as Part I of my book. Mr. Kon, Mr. Longburst and Dr. Dubrenil have done a good deal of space-work, and I was fortunate in making a personal study of their work on the spot-

besides utilising their interesting reports. Archaeological remains are the main source for a study of this epoch of the history of Andhradesa. Curiously enough, there are only a few literary works extant from this period, and what little we know of them we one to the Chinese. Setardhama coins have been found in large quantities and throw some light on Andhra political, religious and economic history. The valuable epigraphs in Brahml and in Prükrit from the Buddhist Intho are another important mine of information of a reliable character. Andhradesa was saturated with Buddhism till long after the last Satayahama (225 A.b.) and the beginnings of Andhra culture are coeval with the beginnings of Buddhism in the land. As Hinen-Tsang testifies, the religion of the Buddhi was not an insignificant factor to be ignored even after the close of the last scene of my book (610 A.p.).

No connected account of the Buddhist remains of Audhratesa has hitherto been written and, therefore, Part I of my book will be found supplying a gap in her history. A clear study of the tocation, character and value of the monuments and the deductions concerning ancient life and manners from the marbles of Ameravati may be found to possess an original character and special value. The data about Nagarjuna, his life, works and age scattered in many works, have been hanglet together and he is given a setting in Nagarjunakonda which is identified with Fahim's Pala ya and Hitten-Trang's Pala male kili.

Part II of the book deals with the history of the various dynasties of kings that miled over Andbradesa between 225 and 610 A.D. The available materials for the study of this epoch are meagre, and it is difficult to correlate them logically and chronologically. The atmost that could be pressed out of these sources was a dynastic skeleton or skeletons. A glimpse into some aspects of the original picture is given by a stray reference. here or there. Here, again, we feel the lack of literary squages if we except the travels of Flines-Tsang, and archaeological remains also fail us as early Hindu works are care. We hear of Pallava. gold pieces distributed to Brahmans and of Ikshvaku coins, but have not discovered even one of them. So we have to rely upon inscriptions, mostly copper-plates which do not seem to have been used in the Satavahana period. There are three copper-plates for the early Pallaya, six for the Salankäyana, nine for the Later Pallava (including the Darši fragment and the sparious

Udayemiran, grant), two for the Ananda Goirs, five for the Vishpukundin, nine for the Kalinga and two or three for the Early Chālukya dynasties. Besides, there are stone inscriptions. of the Ikshvakus, the Ananda Gorm and the Early Chājakyas. A few inscriptions of other dynastics like the Kadambas, the Gangas and the Väkajakas, the Aliahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Väyalin and Vělurpálaivam inscriptions of the later Pallaya dynasty of Simharishna throw sidelights on the history of Andhya. These epigraphs have been ably edited in learned journals by distinguished sayouts like Dr. Fleet, Dr. Hultsch and Mr. H. Krishna Sastri. Fragments of enrelated information are derived from these evidences, and suggetions we have to build on a whole person out of his extent finger-nails, as it were. Our history is, thus, essentially fractional, and it is very hazardous to generalise. But, I thought that a thorough first-hand study of the extent sources, aided by a sound historic imagization, would have its own value, although facts blidden in the womb of Time may, when discovered, upset some of my conclusions. To call our hand facts from indisputable quarries, classify them and interpret their general laws, and thus make them glow with life, is the task of a historian. While he is responsible for his extoneous conclusions, the vagueness of the ofcture must be held as due to insufficiency of facts.

The subject-matter of Part II may be summarised in a few words. The bulk of Andbradesa or the Teluga-speaking country. of to-day has been a separate linguistic belt from very early times. The first independent dynasty that ruled over almost the whole area was the Satayshanas who were musters also of some neighboring kingdoms. After their decline (225 A.D.) there was division of Andhra under two or more dynasties. Roughly, the present Nellore, Guntur and Cuddapah districts were under the Pallayas during our period (225-610 A.D.) who had to fight hardagainst the Kadambas in the west and for some time with the Cholas in the south. The Britishalayanas ruled the present Krishau District for some time after 225 a.p., when the Ikshväkus spread their rate from beyond the Ghats over the bulk of Audhra. The fall of the lkshväkus was followed by the tapid rise of the Kadambas and the expansion of the Vakasakas who set mutual limits to their empires in Eastern Hyderakad. The expedition of Samuelragupta in the middle of the Fourth Century a.D. found. Andhra as well as Kalinga disorganised without a supreme

potentate. By the end of the Third Century A.D., Ikshvaku rule in the Krishnā and West Godāvarī districts was supplanted by that of the Salankayanas whose tenure of power continued into about 450 A.D. Then, the family of the Vishunkapdins, a protege of the Vákatakas of the Central Provinces, superseded the Salahkāyanas and ruled also over a little territory south of the Krishali for some time. Vākāṭaka-Vishņukuņdin sway extended beyond the Godavari at the expense of the Kalinga kings even as far as Vixianagram. Subsequently the Gangas of Kaiinga stemmed the tide of Vishnakundin invasion and proved a thorn on the side of the Vishnukundins north of the Godavari. About the beginning of the Seventh Century a new force and arisen in viz, the Châlukvas. The Châlukvan tempest blew over the whole of the Deathn, appropring some and crimpling other old dynasties. A branch of the Chillukyas came to be established in the Andhra country in the first decade of the Century and it floorished for four contries till it was merged in the Chöla family,

The first book which attempted a history of Andhra was Mr. Chilukuri Virabbadra Rao's Andhracharitra in Telugu (Madras, 1910).

Dr. Junyean-Dubrenil of Pondicherry has given a sketch of the dynastics of Andhra in his Amient History of the Decem. His scholarly work on The Pallowii has brought in its train a number of publications, but the other dynastics of Auxbra have been comparatively natouched. In two respects, Part II of this book is an advance upon Dr. Dubreuil's work. While the learned writer gives a skeleton of facts. I have been able to supply the necessary flesh and blood and give a whole picture with a detailed account of the local habitats of the dynasties and their hitesrelations. Again, during the last decade (after the publication of the Aurient History of the Decem, 1920), wonderful archaeological and epigraphical remains have been brought to light. Thus, the inscriptions of Nagarjanakonda have opened a new world of facts and ideas and enabled me to write more than one chapter (see thaps, it, iv and viii) on the Ikshyākus, whereas the French savant had to be content with twelve lines. The two Kantern and the Pedda Vegi copper-plates had not been discovered when Dr. Dubreuil wrote on the Śālankāyanas. They have thrown new light on the history of the dynassy. They have been edited by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmanarao and Mr. M. S. Sarma in the

Maharoja's College Magazine, October 1922, and in Bharati, vol. i. The facts from all the inscriptions concerning religion, administration and other problems have been fully utilized in the chapters dealing with the dynasties concerned as well as in the last two general chapters. In the chapter on the Vishoukundins, again, new sources have come to light after 1920 in the shape of the two Ipur copper-plates edited in vol. xvii of the Epigraphia Indian. The Anapda Gotra is a dynasty which does not figure in Dr. Dubrenil's book. I have written a few paragraphs on the same based upon their stone and copper-plate inscriptions.

Though much has been written on the Pallavas by Dr. S. K. lvengar, Mr. P. T. S. Iyengar, Mr. Gopalau and others, certain facts connected with the dynasty are still obscure. light is thrown in chapter vi on the origin of the Pallavas. In chapter ix, the relations among the Pallavas, the Chojas and the Kadambas, the genealogical tree and the question of two Pallava dynasties, are dealt with at length. I have not dealt with the problem of Trilochana Pallava here as my paper on this little known king has been already published by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Lyengar in his History of Tamil Culture, pp. 383-88 (1929). In chapter xi which sketches briefly the inter-relation of Andhraand Kalifiga the beginning of the Ganga era is indicated. The chapter on commerce and colonisation reveals for the first time the widespread activities of the ancient Anthras in those two fields. Administrative details gathered from the inscriptions form the subject-matter of the last chapter.

Finally, a few words on Dr. Dubreuil's learned Foreword.

- (1) The Doctor is of opinion that the Ikshvākus replaced the Sātavāhanas in the Telugu country. While the trend of my opinion also is, more or less, the same as indicated in pages 6, 15, 38, 76, 78, 83, and 86 of my book, it may be noted that traces of the dynasty have been found only in Nagārjunikoņda, Jaggayyapēta and Amarāvatī.
- (2) 'The Pallavas took the place of the Ikshväkus towards 275 A.D. 'in the Amarāvati region. I inclined towards a date later than the accepted 225 A.D. for the beginning of Pallava rule in my thesis on The origin of Salvism and its history in the Tamil land (pp. 49-51). But, the absence of Ikshväku remains in the Ceded Districts and Nellore emboldened me to fill with the Pallavas the void created by the disappearance of the Satavāhanas from that region in 225 A.D.

- (3) The Pallavas were displaced by the Ānanda Gotra in the country of Amarāvati in the Fifth Century (about 400-450 A.D.). On pages 109 and 110 of my book may be read two footnotes assigning this new dynasty to the Fifth Century, more or less. But, I revised my opinion for two reasons: the Mängadur grant in Vengorashtra (about 450 A.D.) and the equation of Kandara's grandson and Vegavatisanātās which I took to mean Lord of Kanchi.
- (4) The Vishnokupdins replaced the family of Ānanda in the Amerāvatī region in about 450-500 n.p. On pages 109 and 113 of my book I refer to the inscription at Velpūru, and on pages 38 and 112 of my book I raise a doubt if Amarāpura was the same as Amarāvatī. But, from these two pieces of evidence can we conclude that the Pallayas had no sway over the present Gunfür District between 400 and 500 n.p.? It is more than what we can say at present.

In the chronological and genealogical tables at the end I have followed the dates and facts given in the body of the book.

While correcting the proofs of this Preface I noticed the publication of Epigraphia Indica, vol. ax, pt. i (January 1929) and Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey of India (1927-8) which contain very useful information on the Ikshväkus and Nägärjunakonda. In the former the inscriptions of Nägärjunakonda are edited by the talented savant Dr. Vogel. He reads the third Ikshväku as Ehuenda and not Bahubula. He raises the issue if Nägärjunakonda was once the capital of Dhänyakataka (see p. 51 below). He inclines to the view that Nägärjuna lived in Nägärjunakonda for some time (see p. 58 below). The inscription of Moda the Saka at Nägärjunakonda confirms my view of the foreign influences on Andhra history and culture (p. 68 below). Lastly, according to Dr. Vogel, Bodhisri does not appear to have been related to the royal family of the Ikhākus.'

The hibliography at the end contains the names of all the books and journals that I have consulted for writing this book.

Before closing this preface I may be permitted to put in a word in grateful acknowledgment of the great encouragement given to me by Dr. Sir S. Radakrishnan the present world-renowned Vice-Chancellor.

Vizianagram December 8, 1931 K. R. SUBRAMANIAN

ERRATA

$P_{23/6}$	c. L.	inc. Read	For
-1	35	Aitarem	Aitreya
46	1	Bhagiprolut	Bhattiprolu
6	199	Tamil culture	Tamils
6	30	Early Andhra history	Early History of Audhradesa.
7	17	107-128	102-128
11	8	Chejarla	Chējrāla
11	33	Sattanapalie (Šata- vāhanapalie),	Vinukonda
21	1	Interest	citetest
22	20	Katpa	Tantra
28	型集	Visākhapaţnam	Vizāgapapam
3.5		at Itaira cakoada near	415
47	11	Śātavāham	Andha
48	13	one storeyed	one-storeyed
40	25	motifs	motifis
60	31	Kalpa	Taintra
62		au perstitžonis	superstitions
67		Satavāhana	Āncibra
81		Vishna, amsa IV, ch. 2, 3, 4 (slokas 72 a	nd 111) – Fisánu IV., 2, 3.
83		Omit the sentence ' In al	
8/1		pupilla	1100EH
318	30	Vishnugopa and others	Visingugojas
100	Fυ	otnote 1. This genealog: the book and is follow	
105	3+	Tamil custing	Tamils
		nephew	CONSID
		Kumāravishņu II	Kumaravishan III
122	12	Satavaliona	Andhra
		Trilingi	Girjingi
131	13	Śńtavatbanas	Andhras

ABBREVIATIONS

A. B. I. A.		Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (Loyden).
Aham		Ahananuru
A. B. O. R. J.	1.73	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).
A. H. of the Dec		Ancient History of the Deccan by Dr. Dubrenil.
A. R. A. S. I.	***	Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India.
A. S. W. L.	4	Archeological Survey of Western India (Report).
B. N. Ry.	-11	Bengal-Nagpur Railway.
Bud.	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	· Buddhist.
Bom. Gaz.	m	Bombay Gazetteer.
C. P.		Copper-plates.
E. C.		Epigraphia Çarnatica.
E. H. of India.	48.6	Early History of India by Dr. V. A. Smith.
E. 1.	103	Epigraphia Indica.
Fig.		· Pigure.
I. A.		Indian Antiquery.
Ins.	LEE	Inscription.
G. O.	444	Government Order.
J. B. B. R. A. S.		Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. O. R.	100	Journal of Oriental Research (Madras).
J. L. H.	1.07	Journal of Indian History (Madras).
J. R. A. S.	12.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
J. A. S. B.	1 11 2	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. P. T. S.	411	Journal of the Pali Text Society.
J. B. O. R. S.		Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
M. A. R.		Madras Archæological Report (Southern Circle).
м. Е. В.	121	Madras Epigraphist's Report (Southern Circle).

xxii buddhist remains in andhra

M. S. M. Ry. ... Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.

Mys. Arch. Rep. ... Mysore Archæological Report.

Puram. Puramānūru.

Q. J. M. S. ... Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Q. J. A. H. R. S.... Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Rajahmundry).

S. I. 1. South Indian Inscriptions.

S. I. B. ... South Indian Buddhist (Antiquities).

Yr, ... Year.



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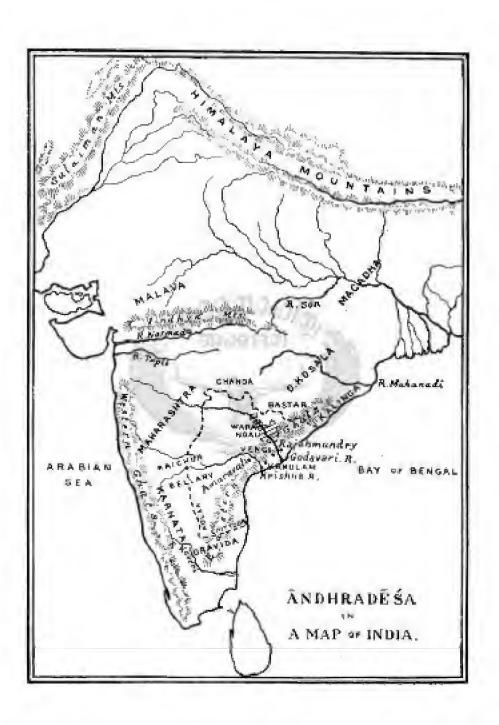
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PART I BUDDHIST REMAINS IN ĀNDHRA





CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

As early as 1912-3, Mr. Longhurst wrote that 'the Buddhist sites in the northern districts of the Presidency (of Madras) are of far more real archaeological value than many of the great Hinds monuments of the South'. A close study of the numerous ancient monuments of Andara reveals not only the antiquity of her civilization but also its exact nature, degree and affinities,

Andhra Buddhism pre-Asokan

Much credence may not be given to the story that the Buddha himself visited Andbra. * Bat, it cannot be doubted that Andbra. Buddhism was pre-Asökan. The Andhras were already the followers of the Law in the time of the Emperor,3 Neither he nor Devanampiya Tissa of Coylon is said to have despatched a mission to Andhra. Early Buddhist stories speak of the relic Stupus of Majerika* which may be identified with the lower valley of the Krishna. 8 Early Buddhist literatures refers to the schools of Audhaka monks which were special to Andhra and is confirmed on the point by the early inscriptions found in the

3 M. A. R., p. 4.

² Watters, On Yaan Chuang II, p. 209. The preaching Buddha is a

very fosnišlar figure in Andhra act,

² C. I. I., vol. 1. The ingeriptions of Asoka edited by Dr. Huitsch, Rockedset xill. For Buddhist infesions see V. A. Scaith: Asaba, p. 166 and Galgar: Maddicipation.

 J. A. S. B., vi, p. 855; xvii, Part II; J. R. A. S. 1907, pp. 581-6; Cuantugham, Arciont Geography of Jedia, pp. 611-2. For the story of the tooth-relic, Toronor: Makanaman, p. 241; Daladaremsa (in Pall) of a later date; also I, A., vol. xvi, p. 4, J. &. A.S. 1906, p. 665.

Majer and Patha Majer are two ancient places in Divi taluk, Krishua. district. The country round accurs to have been called Manjeredesa. The Manjera is a tributary of the Gogdwarl but apparently Naga Majerika of the Buddhist stories did not except so far.

 Points of controversy or Kathhoutha (Oxford University Press) which is a part of Abhidharma Pilitha. J.P.T.S. 1899—Kathavatha atthabatha ; 1888, pp. 57, 77, 96; 1904-5, p. 67. J. R. A.S. 1891, p. 409; 1892, p. 14; 1910, p. 413,

country.\(^1\) However, the date of the beginning of Buddhism in Audhra, the part played by the Nandas2 and the early Mauryas3 in the propagation of the Gospel, the causes for the phenomenal triumph of Buddhism compared with Brahminism and Jainism* are problems not only obscure and difficult to solve but beyond the scope of this book.

The one of Asohn

The earliest historical monuments of Andhra are Buddhist. None of them is pre-Asōkan. However, as Asōka is known to have conquered only Kalinga, Andhra must have been brought under Mauryan rule by Chandragupta or his son Bindusāra. The connection of Asōka with Andhra is commemorated by his rock-edicts near Gooty. Hinen-tsang writes of Asōkan stūpas south of the capitals of Kalinga and Kōsala and near the capitals of Andhra and Chalipe. Some of the stūpas of Andhra must be counted among the thousands erected by Asōka all over India.

- The Challyahus are reterred to In an American Lineaription E.J.A. Ap. No. 1248 and 1250; the Phreschalles In a Nagarjunal contains reption M.E.K. 1227, Ap. Nos. 214 and 219 of 1827 had in an inscription at Album, M.E.R. 1824, p. 97; and the Americal Estima Nagarjunak and discription M.E.R. 1827, Ap. Nos. 214 and 219 of 1827; and in a Peddavega justription M.E.R. 1927, Ap. 219 of 1927 the Americal at Kasatakusch (Champaida) are referred to. See J.P.T.S. 1888, for two more peculiarly Andhra schools—the Rajayiriyan and the Statakusch
- * There are regular southers of Nanda rule (the Nandas were not followers of Brahminian) as for south as Myzore in later inscriptions E.C. Bandanikke and Kupaner lescriptions,
- ⁷ A Changragupta is associated with Sri Sailane in the Stholaparana (M. A.N., 1917-18, p. 20) and with Sravana Belgola in Mysopa (E.C., H). Chandrag aptaparana near Sri Sailang was an ancient city. Bindunara was a great conqueror accurring to Taranania (I.A. vol. iv, p. 363). There are altestons to Mörlyar invasions in Parama, p. 282 and in Above, pp. 251, 281.
- * Perhaps the course is to be sought to the less instere, less exclusive and simpler notices of Baddbism which, in practice, absorbed into hot the Author call. The references to the Anchess in the Anthors Radiomers, in the Land of Boundahama, in the Mapshipsrata (side Armya, Bhishma and Drans pareas) and in the Code of Many indicate that the Andhras were not Aryan in religion.
 - Perhaps Asoka only subdued a mighty rebellion with great force,
- Addita is said to have gone on a special mission to the south according to the new edicis.
- ⁹ Watters: vol. iz, pp. 198, 200, 209, 228. The pilgrier's copital of Chuliye was perhaps near Gooty (Gust), after Gupta).

In the most ancient of the Amarāvati marbles may be seen the same spaciousness and vigour as characterize the sculptures of Bhilsa and Sānchi. In the most ancient of Andhra inscriptions at Bhattipröin may be seen a southern variety of the Asōkan Brāhmi alphabet, the parent of the later Telugu script. Thus, in the reign of the illustrious Emperor, Āndhra culture came within the first close grips of northern sway, though, politically, the Āndhras 'doubtless cajoyed a considerable degree of autonomy under their own Rāja'.²

The Saturahanas, the earliest known Andhra dynasty

After the denth of Asoka, (23? B.C.) the Anghras assumed independence and their kings the Sitavahanas began a career of expansion which was crowned by succession to the imperial throne of Magadha. The Paranas, speaking of the dynasties of Magadha, assign therry Andhrabhrityas or Andhras for about 450 years after the fall of the Kanwas?. Since it has been found that the names of the kings of the Satavahana dynasty so far discovered in inscriptions are identical with some of the names supplied by the Puramus, it has been rightly inferred that the: \dot{S} atevahanes of the inscriptions and the Andhras of the Peranic lists were the same. It is not possible on chronological or other grounds to assign for the Andhra kings a period of four centuries and a half in the history of Magadha. And the Satavahanas were essentially a dynasty of the Decean according to tradition and other sources. If the Satavahanas were in origin a dynasty of the Andhra or Telogo country of if the Paurinika based his statement about the Andhra affinity of the Satavahanas on the fact that he found and knew them only as rulers of Andhra, is a problem not easy to solve. However, it may be noted that Andhra was a wellorganized and powerful state according to Megasthenes (end of the fourth century s.c.) and that the earliest kings of Andhra according to unassailable juscriptional testimony were the Sausvähanas, if we leave out of account the unidentified. Kubëraka of

¹ E. I. völ, ii, p. 323. Unliker, Indian Beakori alphabet, p. 24.

² V. A. Smith, Early Wistory of India (1929), p. 218.

¹ Pargiter, Dynesties of the Kati Age, p. 72.

^{*} R. G. Bhandarkar, Ancient History of the Decean.

A.B.(A.R.L., Paione, vol. 1, p. 21, for the view of Dr. Suktimes or just the Salayahanan were not Audhren.

Bhattiprölu, perhaps a feudatory prince (third century n.c.). The Mackenzie manuscripts tell us of a Mukkanti Kāduveţţi or Tribochana Pallava* (in one of them affiliated to Śālivāhana)* as the earliest king of the Telugu country. Some Buddhist stories have a nāga king Kāla (curiously enough resembling Kālabhartr Pallava) in Majerika, i.e., somewhere at the mouth of the Krishua.* Purānic tradition speaks of the Ikshvākus as having ruled over large parts of the Decean. There are also other traditions of Āndhra Vishpu and his father Suchandra as the earliest rulers and the latter is mentioned as such in a late Buddhist work.* These conflicting evidences, however, do not prevent us for the present from affirming that the Śātavāhanas were of the Āndhra lineage and their begemony extended from the earliest historical times over Āndhradēsa whence they expanded later into Mahārāshtra* and Karnāta,* into Vidisa* and Magadha* and even as

³ H. I., vol. ii, p. 323.

- * For full references to this bend-mythical figure, see my man 'Was Karibina a contemporary of Tribochana Pallava?' in The history of the Tamils by P. T. Schalessa Iyengar, pp. 383-588 (Madras, 1939). Also, Translating Pellaco and Karibina Chila by Dr. Yenkatarasaphanyya (Madras, 1939).
- ³ Wilson, Catalogue, vol. i, p. czzie, Taylor, Catalogue, vol. iii, p. 216, Rice, Myour inc., p. 1iii.
- * Kälnbhartr is found in the Vöyatör inscription and in the Vöjörpälsiyam copper plates. For references to the grants see ch. ix. The Baddhast stories referred to mine the issue if the Analitas of Telogus were nagus which name occurs largely in inscriptions and in literature. For further light on the subject, see my thesis on The origin of Saprism, etc. (Supplement to the Journal of the Madras University, part ii, 1929) pp. 12-13 and my article on Early history of Anthrodisa in the Hada (Hustrafed Weekly), May 18, 1930, p. 4.
- Arya Manjarri Mala Kalpa, vol. lis. p. 621, st. 1 (Triv. Skt. Series). For the tradition, see Campbell, Tringa Grammar, 19t. p. ii, who quotes Anthra Kanmati.
- * luscriptions of the founder of Saturahana undependence, Shuuka, of his brother Krishna and of a successor of his, Saturary on Aremodish and contemporary of Sharavela are found there, \mathcal{A} , S, W, I, R, vel. v, pp. 59, 66.
- ³ Satavaltann coins and inscriptions containing the same Satakural bave been found in Mysore and Kappya, E.C. vis, Part I.
 - E. I. vol. II, p. 87.
- * Andhakavinda nepr Rājogribu and Andhavana near Scavasti occur in varly Buddhist books. Mohitragga (Trubner)

far as the South Pennar in Dravida. The very fact that the Satāvāhanas were in the Northern Circuits towards the end of their rule may indicate that they had discreetly retired home in the years of their decline. At any rate, no conclusive arguments have been put forward to upset the accepted theory.

Andhra imperial power

Who among the Andhra kings was responsible for the Kanwa tragedy? Did the Andhra Sătavāhanas rule for some time from Pātatiputra? Or did the political centre of gravity shift to Paithan, leaving Northern India to its fate at the hands of the Sakas and the Kushānas? These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered. The association of the Sātakarnis with the Ganges region in the Tamil Silappadhikaram² indicates that the Andhra dynasty had a brief spell of supremacy over imperial Magatha.

A large part of the Decean was under the Satavahanas from the time of their independence from Mauryan yoke till the reign of Gautamiputm Satakami. No. 23 in the Poranic list (102-128 a.o.).). He was the hero of the war of independence against the aggressive foreign hordes of Sakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas, the restorer of the castes and of Dharma (which were jeopardized by the invaders) and the lord of the whole of Dakshinapatha. With the advect of Gautamiputra's son into power, there was a set-back to Satavahana dominion in the west and the dynasty retreated slowly towards and established itself in the south and east where the inscriptions of Pajamäyi Väsishtiputra, Yajān Sri, Siva Śri, Chandra Śri, 14 Vijaya, 12 and Pajamäyi IV. 14 have

³ Săravăhann colos have been discovered as fac as the South Pepcac, Rapson: ladion enios, p. 22.

^{*} pp. 540-1 (Mab. V. S. Iyer's edition).

² This is the date given to trim by V. A. Smith, pp. 225-2.

[•] The Sakes had already curved for themselves a principality round Nasik and Nahapana was one of the Saka kings of Ndsik—A. S. W. I. R. vol. iv, p. 102. The Saka introds into the Decom might have been caused by Kushana expansion into North India even as far as Pitaliputes as evidenced by Chinese histories: I. A. vol. iv, p. 16; vol. xxxii, pp. 345 and 383.

² E. J. vol., vili, pp. 61, 67.

^{*} The new for of the Saturahauss was the Sake dynasty of Malwa founded by Chastana (78 A.p.).

⁵ β. I. voj. z. Ap. No. 1248.

^k E, f, vot, x, Ap. No. 1279.

¹² M. A. N. 1910-1, p. 14.

^{*} E. L. vol. i, p. 95.

¹⁰ E. f. vol. sviii, p. 316.

¹¹ E. J. vol. xiv, p. 153.

been found. The author of the Matsya Puraya depicts the closing scene of Audhra rule as full of anarely and sin brought about by micrichas and Yavanas. The last of the Satavahanas may be said to have ruled in the first quarter of the third century A.D.

The period of Śāṭavābasa rule in the Deccan (about 225 a.c.-225 A.u.) witnessed the growth of commercial and colonial intercourse and the development of Buddhism and Buddhism art. Nowhere can be seen to-day such a large number of ancient Buddhist foundations as in Āndhra. They are the relies of a culture which has gone to make up Āndhra civilization. All the earlier culture of the Deccan came to a definite shape under Buddhist stimulus out of which emerged the new Brahminical culture of the post-Śāṭavāhana period. The third century A.u. was thus the cultimination of one epoch and the beginning of another in political and cultural-history.

Teluga ancient and same as Andhro

The Buddhists, wherever they went, used and improved the ternaculars or the languages spoken by the people for purposes of preaching and writing systehysimus. In what state Telegu was in the early centuries of the Christian orn we do not know. But from certain references, it may be reasonably inferred that Telegu was spoken in the bulk of the area in which it is used to-day. Telegu language and literature are certainly much older than the earliest Telegu inscription. Doubts have been

² For the limits of Telagu land to-day, see Grierson: Linguistic Stories of India (1937), vol. i, part I, Introd. p. 91 and vol. iv, p. 577. Roughly, the Circurs between Pulinar and Chicacole, Chittoor, the Coded Districts minus a large partial of the Central Provinces comprise the Telagu-speaking area. The earliest traces of Mahärishtri and Kongada are found in the Sapin-seti of Hala (firet century A.D.) and in the Osychyteches papyrus (Q. J. M. S., 1978). A change of language in Andbra is reported in northern Buddhist books (Watters, II, p. 210). Prolemy's Trilinga in Arakan and according to some, the Talaings of Bornan may be said to have been derived from Telinga or Telingu.

Figure The first Tologu Grammar is the work of the famous Nannayya Bhatta (eleventh century A.D.). So, Telagu literature is older. Yeddhamalla's inscription in Beawäija is in Telagu (W. E. R. 1910, p. 83). Tetaga inscriptions and words may be found in the period before Yaddhamalla. Archale Telagu inscriptions are found in Nellore and Caddappah districts assignable

raised if the country of the Telugus was known as Andhra from the earliest times. Andhra was the name of the Telugu country from the third century A.D. according to inscriptional and literary evidences.\(^1\) Even before that date, the Telugu country must have been otherwise known as Andhra, as Vadega (the Tamil name for Telugu) and Andhra had become interchangeable by that time. If we do not identify the Andhras of Megasthenes's account and of the inscriptions of Asöka with the ancestors of the present-day Telugus and as the inhabitants of the present Telugu belt of land in Eastern Decean, then they would be without a local habitation. Again, Buddhist literature of an early period locates the Andhras country south of the Teligubana and assigns to it special schools of monks popular only there. Some of these Andhras schools are mentioned in inscriptions at

to the seventh century. Ethica-Tsang remarks a change of language in Andhra. Mazikodravarnian I Pallava boars some Teluga birméer. There are stray Teluga words and forms to cartier inscriptions, e.g., the Chickentla and the Peddavegi greats. See chapters X and VRI for references. Kathasaritsagara (i, 36-49; 51) based on the ancient Reshattathrapeak of Diriya as different from Samskrita and Pratrita. Colloquial Telugal forms are said to be found to Hali's Sayla-sati and in Varaquell's Pratrita Pratia. There are strong baditions of the ancientness of Talugal For this and for the definition of Analira and Teluga, see my unite on Eurly. Andrea History in the Binda (illustrated) vide ante. Also, Rijacaja Narendra Paulibhisheka Sanchika (Teluga), Rijahannaday, 1921, for an aeticle by Sancasekhara Sanna on Ancient Teluga, pp. 50-77.

¹ See P.T. Szjaivasa lyeugar's article in J. A. vol. xili, p. 275, for the year. that Apalitya came to be the name of the Telugy land only after the third contary A.D. Andhra is the other name for the Telugar country according to the MayMarolu C P. (E.I. vi. p. 84), Vatayāyana's Kāmasātra. Varāhamiltica (/ A. szii. p. 173), che Mahūwajosa (Geiger ch. 41), Burhibajghosha (who wrote Andhrathakatha), an inscription of the Anendagogra-(S.I.I. v. 155 of 1839; vl. 155A of 1899), Hissat-tsang and Dandin (Dassebauntracharitra vii). Komerila Bhatta (eighth century) speaks of Andbra-Dravida Bhusha I.A. xlil, p. 200. The Andhrapatha of the Mayldavoly. C.P. (third century A.m.) is always spoken of as Prologoza/r in Tamil and there is no season to think that Fudnyatasis was newly coined after the third century a.c. since Padago as a name for the Tolugu seems to be fairly older. (For Findaganajt, see E.I. vol. lii. p. 76; S.I.I. vol. 111, pp. 70, 60; M.E.R. 1904, p. 15; 1996-7 para 45; I.A. vol. xv, p. 175; Rice: Myzore and Careg from ins. p. 17] Cautamiputra was Lord of Dakatigai. paths (which extended upto Sri Suilan according to the later work Arya-Manjasri Mūla Kalpa) and Lord of Sritbana mountain (Srt Sattam). according to his son's ins. at Nasik. The Periples apeaks of Malsolia as part of a kingdom extending far inland (80 a.D.).

Amaravati, Nāgārjunakonda and other places and as such were beyond doubt, in the Telugu country. Lastly, if the Telugu country was not known as Andhra in ancient times, how else was it known? Portions of the Telugu country were known as Majerika or Manjäradesa and Masida' neither of which was the name of the whole of Andhra extending from Tirupati to the Teliand from the sea as far west as a line drawn about the middle of the Nizam's dominion." The recent discovery of the rock edicts of Asoka near Gooty is one more proof that Andhra or Telugu land was a well marked division of the Empire where he did not formet to immortalize himself. From these arguments, therefore, is (ollows that 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' denoted the same territorial unit from the earliest times though there does not seem to be any etymplogical connection between the two words. The pagrounge of Praktik literature by the Satavahanas was due to the religious and cultural fathuences of the age and the undeveloped state of Telugit from a literary standpoint.

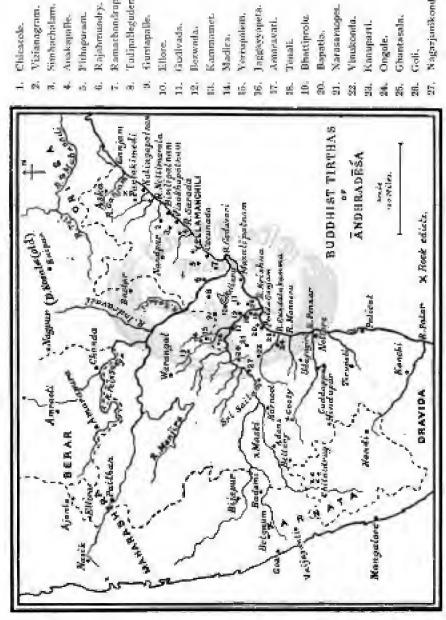
tuddhism gave a great impetus to the advancement of Audhra civilization in the earliest period of Audhra history and thus left rich legacies to the succeeding ages. To collect and study those legacies and to appraise their true value will be the task of the succeeding chapters of this part.

¹ Matsya, Ch. 22. Mahäragga v. 15, 12. Mazdin is found to the Greek assembly.

From the change of language later Variage (Lit. northern.) beyond Vonga-dam (Timputi) see Variational (In Tamih) by K. S. Srinivasa Palloi of Tamiper Pt. 1 (1992) p. I. where he optones Panamparanar, a contemporary of Tolköpplyor. See also Almar 213 and 256. For the Teli as a limit of Andhra, see the Jajakus trans. by Cowell, vol. 1, p. 42.







- 1. Chicacole.
- Vizianagram.
 - Simhachalam.
- This prince
- Ramachandrapar.
 - Tadipallegudern.
 - Furnishapalle,
- Ellore
- Berwnda.
- Kammamet
- Verringinletti,
- Armenvari.
- Dhattiprolu
- Dapatla,
- Narosamopea
 - Vibrukonda.
- Knauparti.
 - Ongole.
- Magazjamikonda,

CHAPTER II

THE MONUMENTS OF ANDERA

Distribution

Throughout the Andhra country, there are remains of Baddhist monuments. From Salibundam in the north to Chinna Ganjam in the south and from Gooty in the west to Bhattiprölu in the east, the soil of Andhra was trocden by selfless monks and ours from centuries before Christ. Rămatirtham, Sanghärüma, Kodavali, Arugolanu, Gunțapalle, Jaggayyapēta, Rāmireklipalle, Allūru, Bezwūda, Gudivhda, Ghantašālā, Nāgārjinakonda, Chējrāla, Garlkapadu, Goli, Amarūvoti, Peddamadour, Pedda Ganjām und Kanuparli have yielded precious relies of a glorious civilization that fourished in Andhra in the carliest period of her history. The largest number of stupas, chaityas

*Sülihundam, 6 miles W. of Kalingapalmam, Ganijam District.

Chiung Ganjāru, M. S. M. Railway, Gonçur District.

Guoty, Anantapsīt District, 5 miles from which Ašokan edicts were found,

Bhottipröla, M. S. M. Ry, Gunter District,

Ramatictium, Studies N. E. of Vizinnagram, B. N. Ry.

Sanghārāma, near Anakapalle, M. S. M. Ry.

Nodavali, 9 miles N. W. of Pithäpumas, M. S. M. Ry.

Arugolanu, Tādipalligādem Taluk, W. Gedārad District.

Guutapatle, 6 miles W. of Kämanarapu Köça, W. Godövari Districa.

Jaggayyapēta, Naodigama Taluk, Kelstaja District.

Rämireddipalle, 6 miles from Modum, N. S. G. Ry. Also called Gunumiddogru.

Allüru, 5 miles from Yerrapüleru, N. S. G. Ry.

Bezwiela, M. S. M. Ry., Kylshna District.

Gudlenda, M. S. M. Ry., Kristma District.

Olianjasālā, 13 milies W. of Masulipatnam, M. S. M. Ry.

Nāgārjunakanda, I mile fram Poliscoddigudem and 15 miles from Mācherla, M. S. M. Ry., Ganter District. The site is on the right bank of the Krishna.

Chejralu, Namearaopet Tolak, Gantur District,

Gurthapadu, Vlankonda Tujuk, Cuitfür District,

field, 3 miles from Remechintain, Guzzein Taluh, Gunter District,

Ameraveti, 18 miles from Guster.

and vihāras have been brought to light in the districts of Guntur and Krishna especially along the banks of the Krishna and her tributaries. While some uncient monuments have been destroyed by brick-quarriers, there are still unexcavated mounds awaiting the magic touch of the archaeologist which, on being opened in due course, may add to the historical materials.

Situation

The Baddhists generally chose for their monuments and residential quarters places which were endowed by nature with plentiful water-supply and with beautiful scenery and which were removed by some distance from the villages and crowded cities, Where the river or stream did not flow by the establishment, the Buddhists constructed big tanks and reservoirs traces of which may be found to-day in Bhattiprolu and Jaggayyapeta. The courses of rivers have changed in historical times and it is, thereforc, not unlikely that give the Krishna flowed pearer the establishments of Nagarjunakonda, Bhattipuolu and Ghantasala and that, similarly, the Muniyers and the Pafern were within a few minutes' walk from the unpasteries of Rümireddipalle and Jaggayyapēta respectively. On the hills of Ramatirtham which is about four miles from the Nellimarala, a tank 65' broad was dug, and the waters of the perennial springs there were collected. in it. More interesting than the argunicement for water-supply was the system of dyainage to which the monks of Ramaurtham. paid canal attention. Traces of a canal from the Krishna (the important means of communication between the monasteries on or near the river and her tributeries) to the quarters of the monks are visible at Någärjugakonda. There is inscriptional. evidence for the digging of wells and tanks on the hills hard

Peddamoidur, 4 miles S. E. of Amarāvoti. Pedda Ganjām, near Cidana Ģanjām, Gentur Dispist.

Ramparti, 6 miles trom Perida Gañjant,

N.R. There is a parectry of Berighist relies in Nellers and the Coded Littricts.

¹ M. A. N. 1889, p. 2, 19; 1802, 15 July p. 2; 1902, p. 18; 1903-4, p. 46; 1906-7, p. 4; 1907-2, p. 8; M. E. K. 1923, p. 4; 5921-2, p. 6 for places containing mounds. M. E. R. 1925-6, p. 3, for vestiges at Velptin, Guarti-District; M. A. N. 1888, 14 July p. 2, 14 for vestiges at Mojipalle and Bispatin, M. S. M. Ry.; 1910-11, pp. 66, 70-74 for vestiges of Massipothern. M. S. M. Ry.;

by for the benefit of the clergy residing there. To one who has seen the perpetual and delightful flow of waters (now made to irrigate rose and pineapple gardens) on the hills of Simhächalam, the description by Hinen-tsang of the arrangements for water-supply in Po to mo to kill does not appear a myth. The monks knew how to derive the maximum benefit out of the natural advantages—unceasing springs in one place, ever-cool sea breeze in another and magnificently wild scenery in a third.

'The view from the hill (of Sallhundam on the south bank of the Vamsadhāra) is a very fine one and shows that the Buddhists had excellent taste in choosing a sultable site to set-off their peculiar type of monuments. When the stopus were complete with their dome-shaped superstructures, tees and gilded umbrella finish, they must have presented a most imposing appearance on the summit of the hill and formed a conspicuous landmark for many miles in the surrounding country.' Similar is the view from Sangharama, Simhāchalam, Romātirtham and many other places. The river with its roaring cataracts, the hills and forests with their wildrunguificence and the isolation from the maddening crowds of the plains gave a special value to Nāgārjunakonda which offers even to day the quietest spots for the simple living and high thinking and for the communion with Nature that our asceties desired to practise.

Stabas

Stapus, topes or dagabas were the tembs erected by the Buddhists over the remains of the Buddha or any Buddhist sage, over sacred texts engraved on metal and over sacred spots. Sometimes, stapus were built in honour of the Buddhas and the teachers. The word chaitya originally meant the same as the word stapa, viz., a functal mound, but, subsequently "chaitya" came to signify a temple in which the stapa or dagaba occupied a prominent place in the apse.

The cult of the chaityas or stupas was an ancient one. Not only Siddhas but also distinguished Rājas received the honour of chaityas being built over their remains. The Buddha exhorted

 $^{^{1}}$ H. N. Ry. M. At. R. (1908-9), p. 10. There are remains of a Buddhist stops on the Damilekenda Hill.

⁶ M. A. R. 1919-20, pp. 34-38, for an account of the Buddhist remains of Salthundam.

his followers not to worship him but to give his remains the honours of a Chakravarlin (Emperor). Accordingly, stupas were erected over his remains and in his memory, and homage was rendered to them. The symbols of Buddhism, the tree, the wheel, the triffile i etc. were also reverenced. At a later stage, in the second century A.D., images of the Teacher came to be placed and worshipped in the stupas, chaity as and vihâras. Invariably, there was a congregation of monks near every big stupa and they lived on the alms of the faithful.

The age of the stapus

Many of the stupus of Andhra are ancient. The stupa of Rhantingolu has been assigned to the third century B.C. from the characters of the inscriptions on the resic casket which mostly resemble the Asokan script." The stirps ('mahachailya') of Amariavati has inscriptions in the Mauryan script and sculptures of an archaic style which date the age of the structure in the same century. Same Mauryon letters of the second century B.C. were found on the base slabs of the stups ("makachait)u") of Jaggayyapõta 4 whose ancientuess is, therefore, as undoubted as that of the stupes of Bhattippilu and Amaraveti. Some of the remains of Guatapalle may be focated in the second century n.c. from a pali inscription of a non who constructed the steps leading to a monument,5 Though unassailable inscriptional testimony is lacking as regards some other stupes, they may also be placed in point of date in the same category as those named above, from archmological evidences. The sparse use of stone and absence of sculpture, the use of the dagaba instead of the brage in the apse of a chaitya and its nearness to the Tell (compared with the Buddhist centres of the Krishna valley) beyond which the Andhaka monks lived according to the

Perhaps an uncleut symbol now mode to represent the Buddha, the Disarma and the Sangha.

^{*} For the super and inscriptions of Photographs, see Rev. South Indian Indiahist automatics; M.-A.R. 1892, July 15, p. 2; E. J. vol. st, p. 323, The explor archaeological reports were issued on \$6.10.8.

^{*} F. J. vol. xv, p. 258 for the ins. of Awardenti-

Burgess: Amardial; and Juggar) apita, p. 103.

For the inscription and for the monuments of Gnajapathe, see M. A. R. 1888, Ap. 30, 439, 11-12; 1889, Aug. 2, pp. 1-3; 1916-17, pp. 36-36. A. R. A. S. I. 1905-6, p. 166.

early Buddhist books—give Ramaturtham an early enough date as a Buddhist tirtha, ¹ The last argument of pearness to the Telli holds good equally in the case of Saughārāma. Besides, the crude and primitive sculptures, the Asōkan type of the monoliths and the absence of the usual rail and the chaitya window lead us to agree with Mr. Rea that the foundation of Saughārāma is shrouded in hoary antiquity. ² From the nature of the structure and the remains, the stapas of Gunțapalle, Gudivața ³ and Ghaotasālā ⁴ may be said to be as old. About the rest of the stapas, no reliable evidence is available to trace their origin to the conturies before Christ.

Amarāvati has plenty of inscriptions in the Brahmi script of the second century A.D. and a few in the ornate Ikshvāku script of the next century. A few marbles which have survived the ruin of the Buddhist memorials of Chinna Ganjam * and Pedda Ganjam * bear inscriptions which locate their age in about the third century A.D. White Nagarjunakonda * like Jaggayyapēta * has revealed Ikshvāku epigraphs * in fine literary pāli *, Göll on the babbling brook the Golleru bears the stamp of its age in a few Brahmi letters samilar to those of the second period of Amarāvati. * Ghanjašalā has recently yielded a clue as to its antiquity in the marble slabs dug out of the Katjašalāba which contain mutilated inscriptions assignable to the second century A.D. ** Similar paleographic testicomy is supplied by the

³ For a second century inscription in a seal and for the Buddhist remains of *Hamaltrikam*, see M.A.R. 1909-9, p. 10; 1900-10, p. 20; 1910-11, p. 13; A.R.A.S.J. 1910-11, pp. 78-87 for Businetions, etc.

^{*} For the seals and coins and a plit inscription at Sangharama and its Buildhist roundes, see M.A.R. 1908-9, pp. 1-10: 1910-11, p. 17. See A.R.A.S.L 1907-8, p. 149 for illustrations.

^{*} Ren, S.A.S. antiquities: M.A.R. 1892, July 15, p. 1 for Guginage.

^{*} Ren, auto ; M. A. R. 1892, July 15, p. 2; 1919-20, p. 30 for Chapterfeld.

^{*} See M.A.R. 1888, July 14, pp. 8-10 for Chiana Gali/ann.

^{*} See M.A.K. 1888, July 14, pp. 2-11; 1880, Ap. 30, pp. 2-12 for Pedda Gañjour.

⁷ M.E.R. 1926 and 1927, Ap. for Nagarjunatongla.

 $^{^{}h}$ E.L., vol. a, Ap. No. 1202 and 1200, for Jaggayyabééa inscriptions of the third conjugy ρ , ρ .

² The marties of Gall (Bullotin of the Mudras Museum) by T. N. Rama-chandrau.

¹⁰ Some of the fragments of the marbles of Geographia, the author saw in the village and some more in the bungalow of the Zambadar of Sallapelli at Masalipateom.

antiquities of Rāmireddipalli, Alburu and Sanghūrāma and by the Chaitya at Chējrāla. The inscription of Śri Chandra Śātavāhana at Kodavali fixes the date of the remains in or before the second century A.D. Nomismatic evidence is also forthcoming from some of the Huddhist sites, which beins us in a way in estimating the age of their relies. Thus, Śātavāhana coins were obtained in varying quantities from Amarāvati, Ghanţasālā, Gudivada, Rāmireddipalle, Sanghārāma and Rāmatírtham, Gudivada as well in Bezwada, Mr. Rea picked up a Roman coin. One of the six clay seals of Rāmatírtham bears the figure of a chaitya and the inscription Sailasangha of Śri Śiva Vijaya Rāja (Śūtavāḥana).

As late as the sixth century A.D. and even later, the Buddhist stupus continued to exercise their influence over the Āndhras who visited the holy spots and showed their reverence to them in the shape of benefactions and votive offerings. A certain Simhavarman Pallava presented an image of the Buddha to the stepa of Amarāvati (about the sixth century A.D.?)¹² In Jaggayyapēta¹³ and, likewise, in Rāmheddipalle¹⁴ there is a marble slab with the image of the Buddha and an inscription below it in fifth century characters. In both the places are found a few inscriptions in later Châlukyan script also. The stone inscriptions of the Ānanda gūtra, a dynasty of about the sixth century A.D., are seen in the Chaitya of Chējrāla.¹⁸ Coins and seals ranging from the fourth century to the ninth century A.D. carry the history of Sanghārāma down to a very late period.¹⁰ Salihundam bears to day the remains of a late age,

For Ramiredgipolli, see M.E.R. 1024, p. 3; 1027, Ap.

For "Mara, see M. E. N. 1924, pp. 2, 97; 1996-7, p. 3.

² M.A.R. 1888, Ap. 30, pp. 12-18 for pall toscriptions, etc., of Chéjrala.

^{*} From Timewarem in Pithapur Zamin, Sir W. Eibot excavated four retic coskets. See J. J. vol. xii, p. 34; M. J. M. 1607-8, p. 3.

[&]quot;-" Rea, S.I. S. aprigulates; M.J. R. 1892, July 15, pp. 1-2.

M. E. R. 1924, p. 3.

^{*} AV. A. At. 1908-9, p. fs.

³⁴ Ar. A.R. 1910-11, p. 14.

[□] Jf.A.R. 1888, Jan. 24, p. 4.

^{**} S.f.f., vol. 1, p. 25.

²² Bargess, Amanteuti and Jangarrabija, p. 111.

¹⁴ M.R.R. 1924, p. 3.

¹² M.E.R. 1900, p. 5; S.I.I. vol. vi, Nos. 155 and 135A of 1869,

^{2*} M.A.R. 1909-0, p. 5; M.E.R. 1914, p. 5.

about the seventh century A.D., though it is probable that the roots of its greatness as a religious centre might be hidden in earlier centuries.

The style of the stupas

The stopes of Andhra were of the same style as the stope of Sanchi and of varying dimensions from the small stope of Goli (8' high and 60' neross) to the big stopes of Bhattiprolu (132' in diameter) and Amerivati (138' in diameter and 100' in height). On a circular or square base, a done was raised and above the dome a square block containing the box of relics, if any. The gala was surmounted by a capital over which one or more umbrellas were placed. All round the stope there was a railing, leaving some space for circumanibulation and marking off the secred spot. Except at Amerivati there was no puteworthy railing clsewhere in Andhra. But in most of the stopes of Southern Andhra there were sculptured marbles all round the base. At the four cardinal points of the circular railing were gateways.

Most of the stupes of Audhra were solid measury work. There are rock-out stupes at Sanghārāma and a stupe-built stupe at Guntapalle. In fact, Sanghārāma has groups of stupes, each pinnacle being shaped into a stupa,

The base of the stupe of Ghantasāla was on radiating and concentric brickwalls. Similarly, the 'mahāchailya' of Nāgārjunakonda, a stupa at Prānguladinus near Pedda Gañjam, and enother at Śālihundam have a base or platform of the shape of the chakra. At Pedda Gañjam, another Buddhist symbol, the swastika was adopted in the place of the chakra.

To erect and balance a large dome of brickwork as that at Bhattipröla or Amaravati requires no small engineering skill. To convert a kill into innumerable stapes as at Saughörüma is no mean architectural feat. Considerable advance had been made in bricklaying twenty-two centuries ago as the bricks of Bhattipröla $14 \times 2^{\circ}$ still retain their strength after having been exposed to wind and weather for such a long period.

Two kinds of chaitya slabs have been excavated at Amarāvati, one presenting in miniature the stūpa of the earliest epoch and the other the stūpa of the second century A.D. The stūpas of Andhro were first bare structures surrounded by a wooden railing or fencing, stone railing being exceptional. The earliest

to have a railing of a permanent material and with some sculptures here and there on it were the stapes of Bhattiprolu and Amaravati. In the former were found remains of the enclosing rail, a marble pillar and a few sculptured marbles. Round the latter there was a railing of granite perhaps with a few archaic sculptures. There has come to light another instance of stone railing at Guntapalle in a stape of perhaps the second century s.c. The gateways of the Andhra stapes were not important as those of Sānchi, either from their size or from the sculptural standpoint. The ayaka pillars found at the four cardinal polats and close to the stapes are a peculiar feature of the stapes of Andhra and unknown to Sānchi. They are square at the base and octagonal above and perhaps once supported mantapar unbere the emblems of the religion.

The Sculptures of the Stupus

The sculptures of Audhra fall into two classes: (1) archaic, aftitiated in style to those of Bhilsa and Sanchi, and (2) of the second and third conturies Aux, betraying the assimilation of the Gracen Roman' style of Gandhara at its best.

The earlier sculptures are chiefly from Amaravati and Jaggayyapēja. Little of a definite nature is known of the few marbles of Bhatthrolu. The carving of a Rūja by his horse found at Garikapadu' is a fine specimen of art of the early Amaravati school. Jaggayyapēta stands by itself with its flat reliefs, spaciousness and large, clongated figures, and is more closely related to the early paintings of Ajanta. The mound containing the biggest of a group of stupus was 3½' in diemeter, the procession path 10½' wide and the surrounding slabs 3' 9' above the floor. Inside the rail of slabs the stupu was formed of earth and brick.⁹ The slabs at the base have generally no sculptures while pilasters upon them are carved in the style of Pitālkhora and early Amarāvati. The figures are larger than and not in high relief as, those of later Amarāvati. Their head-

¹M.A.R. 1889, 30 Ap., p. 7. See M.E.R. 1968, p. 59 for a Brahmil inscription there. There must be some hidden remains at Garlkapide.

^{*}Burgers, Amaricati and Jaggarrapita; A.R.A.S.I. 1905-6, p. 116 for Haggarrapitons of Jaggarrapita temples.

Burgess, Pl. IIv, fig. 2: Iv., figs. 2 and 3 for typical sculptures from Jaggayyapeta.







B. 303.
Details of Casped Spoke Brine (No. 1 Brine) Nachigurieoriu, Gunten Dr.

dress and ear-rings have more of the Ajanta type; and the figures lack the style and rapid movement of the later Amaravati and Nāgātļunakoņda sculptures. Nor is there the same profusion of figures at Jaggayyapēta. One of the marbles of Jaggayyapēta (now in the Madras Museura) is extremely interesting as an architectural model of great potentialities. A shrine or propulativis carved on it with four pillars supporting it in front. The ascent to the shrine is by steps. Inside under a seat are the Śripūda over which is an umbrella with two hanging garlands. In each side-division stands a female, one of them holding a vessel of flowers. The building has a storey with an arched roof and chaitys windows. Over the roof are four ornamental finlass.

The archaic sculptures of Amarävuti lack the elegance and finish of later-day work but are nevertheless hold and spirited-Among them are winged lions and other animals as in the cave of Pitalkhora and on the slabs of Bhilisa.! The human and other figures are flat and possess more strength than proportion, and are on a larger scale. Their garments are as defuly delineated by the sculptor as they were woven by the skifful artisan. The turban, the beavy kundalas, the broad necklace, the dhali round the waist with folds banging were probably not mere conventional art but were really in vogue among the people of the times.2 Figures of men or boys with short drawers driving the bulls, deer and elephants or holding them by the tail are nicely done, The abundant carvings of a later age in high relief and with sharper features will be dealt with in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that the sculptures of later Amaravati include not only the carvings on the tail round the stupa but also those on the slabs fixed all round the base of the stupe and on the slabs operating the stops itself. In the subptures of later Amaravati, the image of the Buddha (which was unknown to Buddhist iconography before) plays a prominent part.

The school of Amaravati art had its sway far and wide in Andhra. Sculptures as sweet as those of later Amaravati have been discovered in Chima Ganjam, Pedda Ganjam and Konuparti, in Goli, in Nagarjunakonda and in Ramireddipalle. Fragments of marbles have been found in Feddamaddur, Chantasala,

^a Burgess, på. xxix-xxx.

Arugulanu and Kondrapolu' which prove the existence of sculptures there in the past.

Two marbles, one with finely carved semi-circular linus leaf patterns and the other with a nice seven-hooded noga on one side and a dagaha, lotuses and rows of tribulus and lions on the other, are reported to have been excavated from the Kollidikia at Chima Ganjam. A mile north of Pedda Ganjam is Franguladianz the mound of the Franks' where a marble with the Buddha and a number of dwarfs beneath his scat and some sculptured lions were dug out. This mound together with the Buddhist city of Pedda Ganjam. The marbles of Pedda Ganjam treat of the usual Buddhist themes and present to us the same motifs. From the Dipoladible of Kanaparti's containing many other mounds, marble piers have been removed and bailt into the local temples. Of the marbles, one has a coiled naga, a moulded expital and a tribita.

Some of the marbles of Goll are still on the spot built up into a small fane which has, within, a big and beautifully sculptured seven-hooded paga (belonging to the stupa) in light green marble twisting itself in intricate coils. At the root of the central hood of the paga is a platform with a small stupa. On the stupa the dwarfs and the dwarfs pillars have been shown. Below the stupa is a kalakit. The stupa in the hood looks exactly like a linga. The rest of the sculptures are now in the Madras Museum. Some of the Jatakas and incidents in the life of the Buddha are depicted in them. The Buddha has the usual halo and flowing robes and devotees salute him by falling flat on the ground or by raising the joined palms to their heads.

Nowhere have such extensive Buildhist remakts been brought to light as at Nāgārjunakonda. They are of more than provincial

¹ M.A.E. 1993, July 14, p. 2. There were also some score sculptures. It is interesting to note that martile sculptures are rarely found beyond the present W. Godavari district.

M.A.K. 1986, 30 Ap. pp. 9-12.
 M.A.R. 1888, July 14, pp. 11-13.

³ M. F.R. 1925 and 1927; A.S.A.A., Leyden 1926 and 1927; A.S.A. 1925-6, p. 141. Mr. Longherst has exceed an immortal mage by his excevations here. There are three reliefs from this place in the Museo Gamet, Parls. Dr. Oubrevil was the first to spot out the recently excepted remains in Captur District.







н. 1770. Гануна Рилск No. 2, Dutyn of Ayaruse Soluber Разлис, Ханарумкомо, Gently, Dt.

otherest when we take into account either the style of the art or the nature of the Gospel preached from the heights of Parvata or the extent of its sway overland and overseas. The stepas of Nāgārjanakonda had neither the ornamental gateways of Sānchi nor the elaborately carved rail of Amarāvati. They had probably a rail of wood on short brick or stone walls. The sculptures in bold relief in light green marble, so far discovered, were found round the base of a stāpa on a hill at the eastern end of the present site of ruins. The chaitya slabs and the alternating compartments of scenes from Buddhist stories are similar to those of the so-called 'inner rail' of Amarāvati in style and finish. There was a sculptured coping all round. On the whole, some of the friezes are more beautiful, more vigorous and, obviously, more fresh than those of the latter stāpa.

Besides the usual scenes from the Jahakus the jungle book of the Indian story tellers' in panels fringed with the human pair and other familiar motifs, there are a number of scenes which cannot be identified and which portray, in all likelihood, local life, story and history. The latter are usually scenes where kings and queens were engaged in various activities. A bearded Scythian warrior in trousers and tunic with long sleeves holding a spear in hand, some nuce figures, some Bacchanalian scenes with delaking borns, the dress of the Buddin and some other figures. reveal the debt of the Andhra workmen to the "Gracco-Roman" style which must have travelled to the Krishna by land and by sen. The rest of the sculptured scenes are the usual Buddhist themes petrified. The panels usually depict the Seven Stops. Renunciation, and Preaching from the life of the Budding. The figures of the Buddha are bald in some panels (Nagarjuan I). while they have early hair and possess great beauty in others. The folds of his dress are well depicted in all the compartments. The most carious panel is that containing Hanuman carrying three figures on his back. The sculptures were popular picture books giving delight and instruction without a language, codienor teacher. There are the usual dwarf, makara and roll organients. Among animals, elephants are sculptured with great skill. Attractive and spirited figures, and scenes permeated with an air of realism are a familiar feature of the marbles. They have elegance, movement and expression. Man and nature are well delineated, and grace, motion and anatomy are all there. In the technique and finish of untranslatable charm, the classical

influence is clearly traceable. The marbles were finished with a fine coating of white stucco as at Amaraveti and perhaps painted also likewise.

The big stopa on the hill of Römireddipalle (Gummididurra)* has all round its base 34 reliefs in the same grey marble of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēta sculptures. The sculptures are excellent and well preserved and are of the Amarāvati school. Some of the chaitya slabs have a seated Buddha in the centre, while, in others his symbols take his place. The Buddha has curly hair, a halo and full robes and is sometimes in the preaching pose. In one panel, the central figure has a turban and hangles like the kings of a later date. The lotus and vase or naments are used in profusion.

The Rethreathets

From most of the stapss of Andhra, relic-caskets have been obtained though we cannot be sure if the relies were of the Buddha or of some lesser teacher. From the inscriptions on the relic-casket of Bhattiprob and on the Ayaka pillars of the "mahachailya" at Nagarjimakonda, it is learnt that both the memorials eashchied the relies of the Buddha. Arra Manjusti Mula Tantra; a a late Suddhist work, notes that the stopa of Amajavati was erected over a relic of the Epiightened One. The great care that was taken to preserve the sacred relies is seen ht the number of caskets one put in the other, beginning with a big stone box and ending with a small, beautifully manufactured casket or phial of some precious metal which actually eneased the object of veneration. Beryl and crystal easkets from Bhattipsolu, and allver and gold cuskets of beautiful workmanship from Nägarjunakonda are an index to the high level of excellence the art of the goldsmith had reached. If further proof were needed, there is a gold necklace of a nice pattern intrad inside the stima of Ramireddipalle.

'What you prize most, you offer to God' is well illustrated by the memorial offerings found together with the smallest of the caskets actually covering the relic. Pearls, precious stones, gold flowers, jewels, beads, trisales and twenty-four small coins

¹ Sustales the references given before, see the Times of India (Illustrated Weekly), Rombay, March 25, 1925, p. 15.

² Vol. I, p. 98.



B. 368. Gert Stein (showing Heiman Belies after Cleaning, Narosponeous, Glener De.





(with the tri/hila and the sacred pinh encircled by a naga engraved on them) were found in Bhattlprolu. The most curious object found there was a book formed of a long strip of thin metal folded together with Asökan characters pricked on it evidently with a metal point. Here is a miniature of the cadians which contained the Law and were carried by the clergy to refresh, If need be, their retentive memories. Near the southern gate of the Amaravati stupe, Mr. Rea discovered a big chiman ball which contained a put, inside which was a casket of pure gold in the form of a dagaba (31" high and 11" in diameter) with an umbrella on the top.' The dagaba contained six small gold flowers and a piece of bone. The ivory articles and the seal in *lapfs*: datall (with the Bon and a Pall inscription inside it), taken together with the above evidences speak volumes of the state of the art. of the jeweller and engraver in those palmy days. While the inscriptions cut on stone in Bhattiprolu are flawless, the biserintion. ou such a hard substance as crystal reveals marvellous skill.

The images of the Buddha

Images of the Buddha of stone, limestone, marble and bronze have been discovered in plenty in the districts of Guntar and Krishna and in small numbers in the other districts. When Hisayāna had given place to' Mahāyāna, images of the Buddha. were set up at the cardinal points of the atupa, in small chancle adjoining it and in the chaltvas where hitherto the dagaba had occupied the sanctum of the apse. Big stone images of the Huddha were found in Säljhundam, Guntapalle and Allüru,* and limestone images in Guntapalle. A stone image of the Buddha with the graceful flowing robes of the Amarayati style graced one of the chaityas at Ramatictham. Marble images in the round which are defaced and mutilated on account of neglect have been discovered in Amaravati, Bezwada, Nügariyaakonda. and Pedda Ganjam. Mr. Rea records the discovery at Vidhyadharapuram in Beawada two marble statues of the Buddha and two big bands of white marble of a statue of the Buddha. the same place, Dr. Dubreuil brought to light two heads of the

^{*} M. A. R. 1999-10, p. 32.

² N.A.A. 1906-7, p. 3. The image is now lit the museum at fleswidg.

Sewell: Lists, vol. i, p. 47; N. A.F. 1889, Jan. 24, pp. 2, 4,

Buildha and a trunk of a Buddha image dressed in taga. The figures have Roman features and are extremely good-looking. The muscles of the face are well shown and the eyes are without pupils. The images in the round at Nügüriunakonda are massive and they occupied the sanctums in the chaityas. Large statues of the Buddha, with excled looks and flowing robes must have stood on the Bhogandanididas (in Pedda Gañjām), if we may judge from the fragments left of them, and the half-a-dozen images from the "mound of the Franks". There were also images of brick and mortar and shaped in plaster as the one at Sülihundam. Life-size images of gold are reported by Hitten-tsang to have existed in Parvata, one of the Ändhra firthus, but for obvious reasons, none of them has seen the light of day.

At Buddhāsi, Buddhist images of copper I' to Z' in height on pedestals were discovered. They are of the fifth century A.D. They are perfectly and delicately modelled and their robe is smooth and tight. At Amarivati also, some images were found, the biggest of which I' 45" high represents the Buddha as a gurn addressing his disciples. They are said to belong to an earlier date than the images of Buddhini. In this new species of art too, Andara was equally skilled. It would appear that these bronze Buddhas of Andhra travelled across the seas to preach in Farther India.

Chaitres

Every big stops had a chaitya and a vibara adjoining it. The bare walls and foundations alone of some chaityas with the dagsha in the apse are seen to-day at Nogārjunakonda. Guntapalle, a veritable treasure-house of Buddhist buildings, and Sanghirāma, presenting a picturesque multitude of Buddhist structures, have preserved for us some of the most ancient of the clarity as of Āndhra.

A circular rock-out Buddhist temple at Guntapalle is assigned by the archivologist to the second century n.c. In has a vaulted roof domed and ribbed like an umbrella in imitation of a wooden building. The façade of the shrine is of the horse-shoe type in

^{*} The Pallavas (Pondicherry), p. 10.

Prangulations or 'mound of the Franks' is one mile north of Pedda Ganjam.

² 18 miles from Kēpušle, M. S. M. Ry., J.K.-J.S. 1995, p. 617; J.J., vol. l, p. 153.

^{*} M.A.N. 1907-8, p. 2.



H. 168 Stoppet in Streeting Francia Albert, Greetschild Kristen Dit.





which are represented the ends of raiters and affords an Illustration of the truth that the stone-mason's art was developed out of the carpenter's. The chaitya contains a monolishic model of a stupa. In comparing the chaltyn to the Lomas Rishi rock-cut shrine at Barabar and the Sudama shrine, Mr. Longhurst writes thus; A section through the building shows that in outward appearance, the roof of such structural temples took the form of a hemispherical dome, apparently covered with thatch, with a horse-shoe gabled porch in front of the shrine. The latter was the usual form of entrance and roof construction of all Buddhist buildings in early times, whether temples, monasteries, palaces or dwellings, and appears to be merely a development of the primitive barrel-vaulted or wagon-headed but, similar to those erected by the Todas of the Nilgiris, at the present day, a style which culminated in the handsome Buildhist chaityas at Alanta. Elura and elsewhere."

There is a two-storeyed rock-out temple with some archaic sculptures on the eastern bill at Sangharama. Above the entrance to the chaitya is a small, cross-legged, contemplating Buddha, while, a life-size nude Buddha stands on one side. The chamber is 30' × 8' supported by sixteen pillars 2' square with a little sculpture on each. A monotithic stupa 4' high is in the centre with a procession path all round. In the upper storey is a smaller shrine with figures of the Buddha cut on side panels. Over the entrance again is a niche with a seated Buddha. Boyond it is a rectangular chember with an inner shrine on the back-wall of which is carved a scated Buddha with a robra hood over it. Though some of the features of this chaitya are different from those of the usual apsidal ended one, it may be held on other grounds that it belongs to the early period of Mahāyūna.

There are examples of brick chaity as at Guatapalle, Chējrāla and Śālibundam. Remains of similar chaity as with stone dagabas at the apse are to hand from Rāmatirtham and with the image in the place of the dagaba from Vidhyādhacapuram! In Bezwāda. The brick chaitya at Guatapalle is assignable to the second century A.B. from the resemblance of the stone sculptures to those of Amatāvati. It is 53′ 7″×14′ 5″ inside and apsidal ended. The doorway is spanned by a semi-circular brick-arch.

³ M.A.R. 1888, 30 Ap. and 24 Jan., pp. 2-4,

There is a niche on each side of the gate which contained an image of the Buddha made of limestone. The roof was of brick and plaster and decorated with earthenware finials.

The apsidel ended barrel-vanited chaitya at Chējrāla' is a rare structure 22' 10" × 8' 9" × 22' inside and built of large bricks with walls 4' thick. The front is a borse-above shaped gable in which as well as in general plan and construction it resembles the large chaitya at Guntapalle. The pali inscriptions, the Buddhist marble columns with the lotus medallions, the style of the temple, the absence of a drainage hole in the sunction and the adaptation of a Buddhist Jataka for its ribalaparāna have made the archaeologist conclude that originally the Kapotësvars temple at Chējrāla was a Buddhist chaitya. The dipping of the roof and the increased width of the entrance give the building considerable acoustic properties. And the Buddhists are said to have paid considerable attention to lighting and to acoustics in the construction of their chaityas and halfs:

Terrimentla ett.

The history of terra-cotta figures is a tascinating theme by itself. Terra-cotta and stucco were extensively used for decorating the chaityns. Among the interesting remains at some of the Budchist centres are terra-cotta kanamals and flowers, terra-cotta kanamals and flowers, terra-cotta tays of animal figures and images of men and animals in plaster. Other curious vestiges of the social life of the times meanthed by the archaeologist are jewels, ivory articles, a spindle, seals, iron instruments of various kinds, articles of broaze, vessels of wood and earthenware (the latter of several potterns) which were used largely for domestic purposes and polishing, hummer and grinding stones.

1 7harus

Not even a single specimen of the residential quarters of the monks has come down to us though it is undoubted that there were several monasteries in Andhra in the haleyon days of

 $^{^{\}circ}$ M.A.K. 1889, Ap. 30, pp. 12-18, 1917-18, pp. 33-35. The measurements given in the book are generally taken from Government reports. There speak he hidden remains of a stopp, etc., bord by.

Buddhism. The Chinese pitgrims give us a description of a many-storeged yihāra which may be identified with the yihāra that once dominated the extensive establishment of Nagarjunakonda. Hipen-tsang describes a great sangharama (not far from Vengila). which had high halls, storeyed-towers and beautifully ornamented balconies.2 In front of this convent were two stone stupus, one several hundred feet high. The monks and auns had an organization of their own and allotted duties to perform for the advancement of their religion and community. Each big monastery had a well-equipped library for the benefit of its inmates and was a fountain of learning. The monasteries have all gone to untraceable ruin on account of age and the perishable materials used in their construction. The originals of the monasteries were the large natural caves which continued to be tenanted even after the erection of splendld vihāras.2

It is carious indeed that no traces are found of monasteries near the best known and the most ancient of the stopas of Bhattiprola and Americati. But, from the inscriptions of Bhattiprola may be gathered that the elergy there were divided into committees and thus had a local habitation. An inscription of Simhavarman at Amarovati makes as understand that he listened to a discourse there. And Taranatha writes that the great monastery near Lhass with 7,700 manks and a university with six colleges was built after the model of a monastery at Dhanyakataka, the Monte Casian of the Docean in the early centuries.⁴

An inscription at Allura records a gift of lands to a nigaya or school of the Pitrusinilas which resided there at the time but no trace remains to-day of a vihara close by. Ruins of a large vihara are found at Aragolana, once a Buddhist city of vast size. Similar remains of many viharas exist to-day at Nagarjunakonda where the cells of the monks can be seen. The bare pillars with hooks in them once supported maniapus or halls of assembly. South-east of the site of the stopa of Jaggayyapāta are the lower

According to Huero-tsang there were forty mounsterles in working order in Andhen and Dhänyakataka.

[&]quot; Probably this sanghardom was that of Guatapalie.

 $^{^2}$ $E_{\rm eff}$, the cases of Arlphlem near Analogodic were inhabited by monks, M, E, R, 1975-6, p, 3.

^{*} I, A. val. iv, p. 363.

parts of pillars of a manifold. On the hill of Guptapalle, again, are clear remnants of an ancient and large visitra, small rock-cut vibitras and a large pillared hall. The targe rock-cut cells of the monastery still remain. The façade of the monastery bad one main entrance in the centre flanked by two little windows and two entrances into the side wings. Both doorways and windows are decorated with little horse-shoe shaped gables of the usual early Buddhist type, with simulated wooden fanlights or screens, above the semi-circular door and window frames. Lastly, Rimatirtham and Sanghäräma have rows of cells with small niches in the walls for keeping lamps and in the former pre rows of massive stone piers indicating the existence there of a large hall in the past.

Initropoes at Endathism

All the early remains of Andhra are Buddhist and the Buddhist remains are so plentiful that Andhradesa must have been intensely devoted to the religion once and for long. Most of the Buddhist foundations continued to flourish for a time after the third century A.D. The Brahminical revival in the Decean had begun as early as the time of Fahian. But, as late as the time of Hinea-tsang, there were 10 monasteries with 500 manks in Kalinga (South Ganjam and Vizagapatnam districts), 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks in Andhra! and 20 monasteries with 1,000 musks in Dhanyakutaka. In the last kingdom were also a large number of deserted munasteries. In the Ceded districts, the Buddhist monasteries were in rules and the Brahminical and Jaina soligious were popular.2 Thus, the sway of Buddhism over the Andbras between about 300 s.c. and 300 A.n. had its continued influence for another four hundred years meant that the warp and woul of Andhra culture was largely Buddhist.

Anthra architecture, sculpture and pointing began and developed under Buddhist auspices. Writing, literature, education (every monastery was a school) and learning had a similar origin and history. The Teluga language has had a stimulus in the course of its evolution from various other languages that

Andhra was half of Kalinga in size according to Hines-tsang.

Watters: Vol. li, pp. 198, 200, 214, 224.

³ The early lascriptions of Bhattiprofit (third century e.c.) prove the high level of culture then.

came into contact with it like Pali, Sanskrit, Kannada, Maharäshtri, Tamil and perhaps even Greek. Of these, the earliest to mould the language into proper form was the Buddhist Pall. The Buddhist assemblies (nonghas) regulated by discipline and decorum, their notions of equality, racial, social and sexual, their stern morals, their intellectual parsuits, their clean, simple and communal life, and, above all, their spirit of missionary enterprise which made them enter into the hearts of the people and cultivate the popular tongue and which led them on as preachers. of the gospel far beyond the seas transcending all racial and gengraphical boundaries-these form the very bone and marrow of Andhra civilization. Lasting impressions were left by the mendicants on the princes and the people and a salutary atmosphere of Dharma was created. Fabian says of North Indian monasteries (which was true of the South Indian also). that chambers, beds, coverlets, food, drink and clothes were provided for the instates without stiat or reserve which is eloquent of the spirit of charity then prevalent. Unmoved by honour or repreach, revered by the people and respected by kings for their character and learning, these scokers after Truth were visited in their sechation and self-imposed poverty and hopoured with grants and offerings wherever they went. The extensive humanity of the age is contained in the phrase ' for the welface of all living things' used to denote the purpose of a grant in Nagārjunakonda.

Things which had stirred our ancestors' minds and imagination to their depths, words which had swayed generations, temples and Gods which had sat close to their hearts and homes for centuries, is it possible they have lost their vitality for ever because the temples are in ruins, the images mutilated and the sacred writings effaced? On the other hand, is it not likely that the broad idealism of to-day, that cosmopolitanism and freedom characterising Andhra Society and art and the peculiar make and themes of Andhra art and literature bear the matks of their Buddhist origin? The rock of which Andhra culture was bewe, the pit out of which Andhra culture was dog was Buddhist.

Derline at Buddhism

The causes for the disappearance of Buddhism from Andhra need not be specially sought, for, it was a feature throughout India. Buddhism was absorbed by Brahminism on the popular as well as the intellectual side. There was little difference between Mahäyäna worship and the worship of the revived Brahminism. Both were the resultant of the movement of Bhahti which was a reaction against Vēdie exclusiveness, Jaina asceticism and Buddhist moralism. Asvaghosha's Buddha Charita sounded the note of the new movement in religion. Salvation except with the yellow robes was denied by Hinayäna. Mahäyöna was more liberal and aitraistic. Mahäyöna was more picturesque and popular.

The introduction of Gods and Goddesses and Modhimiteus or saints similar to the Hindu deities and the development of Pairapäna tantrism attended by mystic rites accelerated the decline already started by the laxity in discipline and morals and the lack of fervour la the monks and nuns. Madhimitha Sauparada which stressed on the non-existence and illusion of everything led to the Yagarham which affirms the reality of inward thoughts. Mystic funtrus arise mostly out of Vagarham and they degenerate into faltificities. It is therefore significant that, at any rate, in Andhra every fundahist mound is popularly known as Lanjadibba and Bhoramhanidibba (the mound of the prostitute).

In this connection, mention must be made of the traces of the sakti cult found at Saliburdam. The life-size figure of Marici in stone to the alidha (ungry) pose is fine with her appear part and (except for ornaments) and the lower ciad in thin cloth with a girdle round the loins. She has three faces and six arms and her head-dress has a halo behind. She carries the bow and arrow. At her feet are two Dhyani Buddhas. She is the sakti of Amitabha and the Goddess of Daws. There is another nicely carved Marici with the same features. There is a four-armed stone image of Tara in padmentum pose. She is the sakti of Avalokitesvara and still one of the most popular deities. There is another two-armed Toro with two female wershippers.

These images represent the growth of 'a mystical sex symbolism' like the *londric sakti* worship. To each *Bodhinetten* was assigned a female counterpart and male and female deities came to usurp 'the religion of no deities.' Chicacole, Śrikākulam, * was

"There is another Stabakedom at the mouth at the Krishan which was an early capital according to tradition.

Soroo derive the Telago Saul (dancing girl) from Smindai (nuo). The other phones Althebara gratile is toro but easily understood as a name given by the Brahminton apparents.

perhaps the Śrikankāli of the Buddhist świtas. Dhānyakaṭaka too became Vajrayānist and perhaps thus acquired the asme Dhāranikōta, the place of Dhārayis. From an examination of certain scalpunes, statues and paintings in Mukhalingam, it may be inferred that a debased kind of Buddhist świtaśm of the Vajrayāna with its blood-thirsty deities and lumoral worship must have prevailed there. Thus, degeneracy set in fast and reduced the number and popularity of the Buddhists. From the spacious times of the saupa of Bhaṭṭiprōlu to the lesser days of the remains of Śālihundam, Buddhism had pessed through various stages. And, though all the people were never Buddhists as Buddhism allowed no laity, the influence of the manks and none was potent to do good or evil. Latterly, their influence was evil rather than good.

The stupss which were attended, reverenced and patronized by the people were exchanged for Siva and Vishau. But for popular and royal regard for the religion, thousands of monks and nons could not have flourished. Besides the loss of patronage—we do not meet with Buddhist grants after the third contury, a.e. generally—there must have been persecution and destruction of Buddhist buildings and libraries to some extent. Otherwise, we cannot explain the entire absence of Buddhist literature in Andhra.²

The religion that started with condemnation of rituals ended by becoming as ritualistic as Brahmhitsmi. The ignorer of God began to worship many Gods and their female counterparts. The creed of pure morality came to be lodged in brothels miscalled monasteries. Any association of men and women in mystic rituals which countenance drink takes but little time to develop into a den of immorality. The canker, once it gets in cludes nipping and spreads slyly along over the whole organism. The disciples of Him who preached in the open air and tought in the groves were entombed in monasteries (which became the distinguishing feature of Buddhism) with their knowledge encased in shelves of palm-leaves. Ideas ceased to grow, scholastic learning alone won laurels and there was no longer

i M.E.R. 1919, p. 8.

But there is no certain evidence of persecution except in later traditions. For some traditions, see Venkasaranannyyn N: Trifochung Pallava, etc., p. 37. Also Kitshna District Manual, p. 268.

the spirit of change and progress to counteract the growing demy. In a word, there were more scholars than prophets or possected men. The old faith had degenerated and had to be rejuvenated. Nagarjana, like another Buddha, rose to the greatest heights of intellectual and philosophic eminence. But, the decay that had set in continued. The people bound for millenniums to their spirits and superstitions were not moved further into new spheres of life and thought, and concessions were made to their weakpeas and partiality for a God, a personal Being who lives and loves, the rock and refuge of the people. The Buddha became another God to them. But, Nagarjana was not to blame. No good thing can continue for ever, it degenerates and the cycle begins again. Pure morality is no religion for the masses when it is inadequate even for the elect. The code of discipline—abstinence and morals—thrugh not so austere as that for the Brahmin or Jaina Sanyaris was far too stringent for the bulk of the large number of monks. Hinen-tsting notes. quarrels among the monks of Dhonyakmaka as the cause of their ruin and the king, taking advantage of it, closed some monasteries. Similarly, growth of indiscipline must have brought down many other establishments. Higher notions of self-knowledge and self-improvement without external aid do not make a lasting appeal to the people who linger still in a labyrinth of deities and appensitions. Equality of the sexes and their free mixing in the vihūras were great ideals but were disastrous in result on account of the nitimare domination of the sex instinct.

Buddhism went the way it began. It was a reform upon Brahminism and was absorbed by it when it reformed itself and opened its wide portals of Bhakti to all. Its principles and doctrines lie embedded in the Upanishads and in the systems of Hindo philosophy. Alarma is the Hindos' doctrine; so are ahimsa and surpaur. Neither Gautama nor Asōka preached hatred of the parass or of the Brahmins. In fact, Asōka went the other way and exhorted reverence to be shown to the Brahmins and to the social order. We are not sure if the followers of the Buddha who were not manks discarded the village deities and scalic ceremonies altogether; but he condemned them, partified religion, introduced abstinence and gave a conscious ideal. Only the Vēdas and sacrifices the Buddha distiked. The Buddhist path was poved with noble truths and not strewn with the bleeding remains of victims. Ethics was the foundation of

the religion and its best justification. The Brahmins were hit bard by the new religion which became popular among the new-Davius who were taught in their own language the doctrines of mercy, right conduct and pure life. The Brahminical religion of sacrifices and mapuse was open only to a few and their sacred language too was only for the elect, but in the post-Buddhist age, the Bhakti cult was cosmopolitan and found expression in popular tongues.

Usurpation of Buddhist Centres

The Jains and the Brahmins converted the Buddhists' buildings sometimes into temples for their gods and profited by their example in mising new structures. This fact coupled with the paucity of early Brahminical and Jaina remains in Andhra shows that in point of popularity Brahminism and Jahnsan were negligent factors as compared with Buddhism in the earliest epoch of Andhra history. Jainism was very popular in Karohta. and Dravida but never so in Andhra. The successive usurpation of Buddhist Ramatirthem by the Jains/and the Hindus, the existence of a famous Hindushrine at Buddhist Simbachalam, the conversion of Sanghārāma, and Guntapalle into Linga Kahābras, the presence of shrines dedicated to Amaresvara, Kapotesvara and Sri Sailesynya in three famous Buddhist centres and the excavation of lingus and paninaffams in Enddhist Peddakancherla! and Jain Dinnavulapadu - respectively—these speak for themselves of the origin of the Hinda revival on the decline of Buddhism. That there were Brahminical temples in Andara from the third century A.D. 2 can be proved from inscriptions;

Nicukonda taluk, Gentür district, M.-J.K. 1891, July 10, p. 1. 1 am told that there are appalike things in the Lakubari perion found in many Telegia households and they are called Radin (Buddhala?). The idel at Simhächalam has a linga shape and no proper explanation is given for it.

^{*} Jaminalanology (sluk, Ceddapah district, M.A.R. 1969-4, p. 27. An for Jaina remains in Andhradesa see Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao's S. J. Jainism (Vizianageam). Also the District Corpilers. A number of Jaina images are reported to exist in a number of places in Godavari District and Jaina remains in the Ceded Districts. Dräkshöröma is believed by some to have issue once a Buddhist Antona. There are a few Jaina traces in the remple. The structure is a notewarthy one in the country which possesses only a few beautiful filindu temples. There is the influence of the Chalakyan style. The place is in Romachandrapuram toluk, East Godavari District.

² The englisst known temple is that of Vishquat Döföra (third century Aug.). The name 'Sava,' and the word 'Vigralia' occur is the earliest inscriptions at Bhattipetin.

and the scores of Dwar temples noted by Hinen-Tsang as having existed in his time could not have sprung in a day. But, of their style, little is known and the presumption is that it was not different from the style of the earliest Hindu temples extant in and round Bezwada which was a copy of the Buddhist style exhibited in the rock-cut and structural buildings of Guetapalle.

Survival of Buddhist Art

There was no chasm between 'Buddhist', and later' Hindu' Art as the workmen and their books and models were the same. Save for the differences in the thomes and some motifs, and variations following the development of art and the nature of the religion, no marked changes are noticeable at the start, one naturally evolving into the other. The easy occupation of Buddhist chaityas and caves by the Hindus explains the absence of any disparity between the two styles. All the earlier art was absorbed by the Buddhists and all the later art evolved from theirs.

In and round Bezwäda may be seen to day a large number of rock-out enve temples at Mognirajapuram. Sitanggaram and Undavalli. They are all mostly shaple in plan and construction. They represent a continuation of the Buddhist art of scooping out cells adapted for the Hindu gods. While the circles of the dead developed into the stirpns on the plan of the circular but, the square stupes of the Aryans served as the ground plan for the cells of the typical Hindu temple. A number of small shrines exist by the side of the three-storeyed rock-cut temple of Undavalli, square uni-cellular sanctums which were the nuclei of later big temples. The big temple of Undavalli itself is of the style of a Buddhist vihāra. The difference in the ground plan between the Buddhist and later Hindu temples notwithstanding, the dark sanctum (with the idol instead of the relie) and the semi-circular dome or the vimana (hollow unlike the solid stupa) in the latter betray their Buddhist origin and conception,

It is well known that the rock-cut cave temples in and round Bezwida, are the carliest surviving Hindu shrines of Andhra.

[&]quot; For Bezrada, see M.H.K. 1910-11, p. 20 ; 1910-21, p. 26 ; 1888, 30, Ap. 2,

For Moguliājaparam, M.A.R. 1888, 30 Ap.; 1040-20, pp. 27-0. For Utslavalli, M.A.R. 1888, July 14, p. 3; A.A.A.S.I., 1919-20. For Sisānagaram, M.A.K. 1888, July 14, pp. 4-5.

nothing being known of structural Hindu edifices till a very late date. These have been rightly attributed to the Pallavas and the Vishnukundins, the former carrying the style into the Tamil country. The *Drave poles* and the pillars with lotus, vase and lion ornaments remind us of the Buddhist sculptures of Amaravati.

One stage removed from these early Hindu temples is the group of beautiful rock-cut temples at Udayagiri in Nellore District belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries. More developed than the group of Udayagiri is that of Mahabalipuram both belonging to what is called the Pailava style.2 It is a commonplace that the Seven Pagodas of Mahabalipuram represent the various styles of temple-building known at the time. A clear analysis of the styles of the Pagodas will set at rest any doubts concerning their Buddhist parentage. The Dharmaraja Ratha is a storeved vihāra; the Draupadi Ratha is a mantapa with a roof, slightly different from that familiar in Amarageti sculpture; the Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha has the exterior of a chaitya hall on a small scale; and the Bhima Ratha is like the chaitya of Chejrala. Only the Ganesa Ratha having a gapara with a barrel-vaulted roof at the apex presents some difficulty. The gopura is the dominating feature of the Dravidian temple by day and by night, as the stupa overshadows every other building in a Buddhist #r/#n; but it does not stand over the sanctum in later Hindu architecture but is in the compound wall of the temple. The symmetrical arrangement of miniature vimams and goperas and groups of figures on the gopura is similar to a like arrangement of miniature stupus and groups of sculptures in famous stapas. But, as already pointed out, the plan of the later. Hindu temple was square or rectangular as different from the circular or apsidal plan of the Buddhist. While the stupa of Amaravati was a huge semi-circular structure, the gopuraof a South Indian temple is a large pyramidal structure based on the style of the storeyed vihāra. In the Ganesa Ratha, the gopura looks like a series of laboriously mounted oblong platforms in diministing size crowned by the barrel-vaulted roof, the dome-shaped stopa being lost sight of and only the platform on which it stood being

^{&#}x27; M. A.R. 1930-1, р. 29.

^{*} The Pallava is the only early Audhra dynasty veloce association with Audhra can be traced continuously for not less than five centuries.

developed. The modern gopers is but a development of the principle of building in the chaltys at Chējrāla with the gate on the long side and without an apse. It may also be remembered that there were viāāras of a pyramīdal shape with as many as five storeys as the one noted by Fahian in Dakshīna. In detaits like the procession path, chaitys windows, finials, pillars with capitals before the main shrine, groups of smaller fanes, sculptural motifs, votive offerings, inscribing the gifts, festivals, etc. the later Hindu temple follows the Buddhist style. Elements of Buddhist iconography have entered into the Hindu, not to speak of the softening influences of Buddhism over the other religions.

Some more remains

The ruins of some of the ancient cities have not yet been systematically explored and surveyed. There are relics of an ancient city at Chandraguptapatuma near \$\frac{2}{2}\$ is \$\frac{2}{2}\$ although and at Dantavaktrakōta in Chicacole taluk. Distrațikōta near Amarāvati has extensive mounds. As at Dantavaktrakōta and Dharaṇikōta, ancient coins are picked up from time to time at Kalingapatuam also which contains mounds worthy of excavation. Above all, there are the extensive remains of Dendainra and Pedda Vēgi and Chinaa Vēgi which belong mostly to the epochs of the \$\frac{2}{2}\$ and Chinaa Vēgi which belong mostly to the epochs of the \$\frac{2}{2}\$ and the Vishnekantlins. It is curious that nowhere (including the vast acres of relics in Vengi) have ancient civil buildings been preserved. There are traditions of palatial civil buildings and here and there vestiges of them occur as at Nagārjunakonda, but they are insufficient to give us even an inkling into their size or style.

Sire as a garn, the diagra under the nager and Vishipa separate are, to some extent, counterparts of the preaching Buddle, the Buddle under the hoods of Elapain, and the modebusieruses.

² M.A.K. 1917-18, p. 20,

^{*} J.E.O.K.S., 1930.

M. A. K. 1889, 36 Ap., 5p. 9, 43-14; 1202, p. 19. Six miles from Ellore,
 M. S. M. Ry. Denitalitude about 12 miles from Ellore.

CHAPTER III

THE MARBLES OF AMARAVATI

Or the Buddhist centres of Āndāra, Amerāvati is the most widely known. It is about 18 miles from Guntur and about the same distance from Bezwida. Built on the right bank of the broad and navigeble Krishna (connecting by water year in and year out all the religious centres on both banks of the river) Amarāvati held a position of supreme strategic importance also, Without the disadvantages and dangers of a situation on the coast of Coromandel, it had the benefit of communication with the sea. It stood as the gateway of commerce along the Krishna which served to fertilize its fields, to disseminate its culture and to distribute its goods.

A mile to the west of Americani are the ruins of Dharanikëta, an important political centre of the Satavahanas where mimerous Andhra coins have been picked up. The location of a Pallava viceroyalty at Dhanyakataka in the third century A.D.² and the mention of Dhanyakataka as a separate kingdom by Hinen-Tsang all point to its great political importance.

Amaravati recalls to our mind the soliless labours of Colonel Mackenzie but for whose discovery all the marbles would have been hurnt into time and but for whose spirited and withal exact drawings the picture of the stupa will be incomplete. Elliot, Sewell, Burgess* and Reas have successively worked at the spot and on this noble theme. Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Workip is a monumental work though marred by a few erroneous opinious expressed in it and it treats of the Amaravati marbles in the British Museum and the drawings of Mackenzie. The

Anshriveti is 62 miles from the mouth of the Krishna.

E.I. vi, p. 84.

^a Report on the excayation of the Amazāvāti stopa in 1877.

^{*} The Ruddhist stüpes of American's and Jaggayyapëta.

^{*} South Indian Buddhist antiquines; M. A. R. 1886, Sept. 11, 1889, Ap. 30, C. D. 383, p. 2; 1905-6, p. 2; 1906-7, p. 2; 1907-8, p. 2; 1908-10, p. 32. For Illustrations of Amarikani, besides the above, see A. R. A. S. J., 1905-6, p. 50; 1908-9, p. 88.

magnum opus of Burgess, his book on Amaravati is still the picture-Bible on that chapter of Andhra history.1

The stupe, with its roots far down into the age of the Mauryas, stood firm and eatire and received benefactions as late as the twelfth century.2 Hinen-Tsang, the devoted piggrim that he was, goes into raptures over the magnificent but largely deserted convents, galleries and pavilions of Dhanyakataka.3 The inscription of Pulumäyi Väsishtiputra carries the age of the · Makachuitya' of the Chaityakus to the second century A.D., while the inscriptions in the Mangyan script* would put back its age by another four bundred years. While Dhanyakataka figures in an inscription of the Anandagotra line of kings who seem to have taken Andhra after a fight with the lord of the Henna (Krishna), it is doubtful if the Amarapura of the Vishoukundin inscription refers to this ancient city of Andhra. inscriptions in Ikshviika script and the earliest references to the Vükütakas at Amaravati are full of significance though it is not known if the Väkätakas were indigenous to Andhea.5

The exact date of the foundation of the stupa is as obscure as that of many another stupa in Andhra. The original mound was of the same type as the stupas of Sauchi and Bhattiprolu and of the same century. The capital discovery of large quantities of marble in Andhra is a landmark in the history of Andhra art. Broadly speaking, the sculptures fail into two classes, one akin to the art of Bhilsa and Sauchi and the other displaying the assimilation of the Gandharan style which elevated at a stroke the tone of Andhra art and made it a joy for ever. Additions were made and renovations effected till the third century a.b., since we have some inscriptions in the ornate Ikshvāku script

If The Amaravati marbles are now shared among the museums of London, Calcutta and Madras. There are a few in the National College, Massilipotonu (are they from Giantasata?) and in the Bownids, museum. For the history of the excavations, see Sewell: Lists 1, p. 63.

^{*} E.J. lii, 61; vi. 155; x. 44. Also 269 and 270 of 1897, M.E.R.

Watters: ii, 21d; Beal: ii, p. 221.

^{*} E.7. zv. p. 258 Pulansāyi has mode a grant at Nāsik to the monks of Dhānyakaṭaka, E.I. viii, p. 67.

For Amarövati inscriptions, see E.1, xv, p. 259.

^{*} Light cream colored marble is still due out in Malliamesia and other places in Paland. Finely colored Cuddappah building stone is obtained in Naudigânia (stok and liturations is found in planty in Sattenappatie (4) as

which have required as much skill as the most pleasing of designs there. But, the bulk of the embellishments were made in the second century after Christ in the script of which period many of the epigraphs are engraved.

All that wealth could bestow, all that power could command. all that art could embellish. Dhanyakataka was beautified with, as the foremost city of the 'Lord of Dakshinapatha'. If religion could be expressed in stone, the picture gallery of Amuravati would answer. That religion can permeate and emoble the meanest cobbler, the inscriptions of Amaravati would testify." The imperceptible shading of one art into another and the melting of all in a universal harmony may be experienced by a concentration on the best relies of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. Here is a monument decorated ant merely by royal patronage and the munificent purses of the nobles but by the people at large, the merchants, the goldsmiths, the poor mendicant ascetics, the humble and devoted pupils whose love is chiselled there forever. It speaks volumes of the pious real and refined tastes of the commonalty and the acme of perfection reached by the decorative arts. The whole world of floral designs and the varied, animated and crowded scenes of men and animals convey the minute care, the Himdianum putience and the manual skill of the Andhra artists of 2,000 years ago whose bavishness of detail is equalled only by the exaberance of their fancy. These masterminds have so effaced themselves in their work and are so lacking in the later day egotism that we do not know the name of oven one of them.

By putting together the fragmentary evidences supplied by the excavations and the miniature stopes on the slabs at Amaravati, the 'mahāchaitpa' which had gone to rutu long before Colonel Mackenzie, has been reconstructed by historic imagination aided by the science of archaeology. On what is now a mere site with not a trace of the central stops and railing² reared its head a mighty monument 138' in diameter and about 100' in height. With the sculptured marbles painted in colors, covering and sucrounding the stops, this finest memorial to Buddhism in the world must have presented a pleasing appearance for miles around and exercised a sobering influence on the

¹ E.J. x, Ap. No. 1273.

² There are now the remains of a small stops with marble state at the southern entrance of the big stops.

minds of men. By day and by night, the majesty of the religion of self-control was brought home to the citizens. It was the Dipaladinue (mound of lights) in fact as well as in figure of speech. The busy capital near at hand with its palaces, bazars and all the ancient splender of India stood in striking contrast to the calm dignity and the soothing repose of this enchanting mansoleum, the very seventh beaven of symbolical expression. Hard by this monument of the 'Bhagarat' must have stood many a smaller tomb to the hierarchy of lesser teachers and monasteries and manjapas, traces of which are not however, extant. For, no big stups worth the name stood without a chaitya and vihara.

A devotee who desired to pay his respects to the great staps at Amaravati in the second century A.D. entered by one of the four gates near which were some small chapels and dagabas. The gates were at the four cardinal points of the circular enclosure known as the Outer Rail. Apparently, the gates were unimportant and not of the Sanchi type.

The Onter Ruit

The Outer Rail was formed of apright slabs about 10' high above the level of the paved procession path. These aprights were connected by three cross-bars which were litted into the mortices in them. Above and supported by the uprights was a coping frieze, 2' 9° in height. On the external face of this compound rail were found sculptures of a uniform and general type. On the pillars were sculptured a disc in the centre with half dises above and helow.\ The dises were characterized by beautiful leaves and creepers in concentric bands. At the two ends of the pillars, above and below the half disc were bands depicting animals and flowers. Between the discs were sculptures of the dagaba, the Buddha, the naga, the tree, etc. attended by devotees in the upper space and by dancing dwarfs in the lower. The cross-bars's connecting any two pillars were full of discs with leaf-patterns. The coping of the rail had a long wavy roll of flowers carried by human figures here and there and bearing one or other of the Buddhist symbols.3 Though the outer sculptures of the Outer Rail are conventional,

² Burgess, pl. vii, fig. 2.
² Hild., pl. xvii, fig. 2; xviii, lig. 1.
² Hild., pl. xx, fig. 1.

the marvellous and rhythmical varieties of floral patterns and designs, the sinuous rolls and the humorous dwarfs reveal no small skill. The work in stone was evidently copied (rom earlier work in wood and metals—softer materials than stone—admitting any amount of dexterous work by the carpenter and goldsmith.

On the inner side of the Outer Rail, i.e., to the left of the circumambulating devotee were sculptures not only pleasing to the eye, but instructive to the mind. The aprights bore on the inner side again a disc in the centre and semi-discs above and below, the latter decorated in the same manner with the frieze of animals and flowers at the ends. The central disc and the bands above and below it were sculptured with scenes from the Jalakus, episodes from the life of Gautama the Buddha, and varied pictures of domestic and religious life with vivid local coloring now and thea.1 Writes Dr. Burgess, 'it is only in the paintings of Ajanta and Bagh that we find anything comparable to the rich variety and excellence of art displayed in these sculptures'.2 The whole popular love of the Buddhists was depicted on them, an art copied on a grand scale in Borohudge in Java at a later time. While the contrast in this respect between Sänchi and Amaravati is striking as the sculptures in the former were on the gateways alone, the evolution of the art into greater skill and freshness and more profusion, hixariance, elegance and unimation (permeated by the new spirit more akin to Mathura and Gaedhara than to Sanchi), cannot also fail to attract our notice. The subject-matter is the same, conventions about figuring particular scenes in a particular manner, e.g., as to dress, ornaments, etc., had grown in Euddhist art, but still the realism, individuality, expression and freedom of figures and objects at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda are of arresting interest. In a sease, the art had developed a delicate nicety from the pristine vigor of Sanchi but it has all the charm of a mellow evening. 'Continuous representation, linear treatment and the relative independence of the single figures ' are its chief characteristics. The cross-hars which connect the pillars were filled on the inner side also with discs in concentric rings of leaf design. The central disc alone is a panel of figure sculptures of various types and combinations.1 The inner side of the coping

Burgess, pl. vil. fig. 1. * fbid., p. 26. ** Red., pl. svii, figs. 1, 4.

above the Outer Rail is also filled with figure sculptures of various scenes from life. Thus, the langer face of the Outer Rail is a contrast to the outer as the former alone meets the eye of the devotees.

The Inner Rail

To the right of the devotee was what used to be called the 'Inner Rail' composed of slabs carved with miniature chaityas alternating with pillars bearing the chaken. It was close to the stopa and the slabs were fixed in it. The richest and the most elaborate carving exemplifying the zenith of Audita genius in stone could be seen in the 'Inner Rail' so appropriately assigned to a later date than the Outer Rail and plausibly connected with the art of Nagurjunakonda and the great Saint. The circumference of this railing 6' high has been computed to have been about 521'.5

Enclosed by the chaityn slabs was the stupe about 435' in circumference at the base. It was covered with sculptures upto the capital in tiers. The tee and the umbrolla at the summit crowned the whole edifice which was periodically lighted and festioned,

The chaitya slabs of the 'Inner Rail' were of a uniform type, The chaitya on the slab 5' 8" high and 5' 10" broad stood between two chairs pillars with a frieze of sculpture above. It has an outer rail with cross-bars between the pillars with a plinth carved with the wavy roll. The gate is shown with pillars decorated with fions at the base and capital, and on two other sides a view of the gates is given. By the gate are seen devotees with offerings. At each side of the gate stands a dwarf with a tray on his head to receive the offerings of the faithful, and by his side is a flower wase. The stopa itself is divided into various panels. In the centre is the throne with one or other of the Buddhist symbols attended by devotees with or without wage

Burgess, pl. xx, fig. 2.

The measurements of the various parts of the stopa are taken from the book of Burgess.

[&]quot; Hid., pl. xxxix, figs. 1, 2.

[&]quot;The relic-coaket, the horse (Kanthako), the fotos vose, the empty throce, the footprints, the Hodhi tree, the trificia, the floroing pillar, the digaho, the chakro, the naga, etc. The floroing trificia is the counterpart of Agnitingal (Fergusson). The author has seen people in South Known with popular caps suggestive of the page men and women in Americali scriptures.

hoods. In some of the slabs is the polycephalous snake. In some others is the Buddha himself amidst his audience or under the hoods of Elapatra with a halo round his head or with the horse by his side or with the elephant kneeding to him. He sits cross-legged and is always found preaching to a crowd of listeners. His hair is worked up in the ludian fashion and not gathered in a knot as in Gandhära. His eyes are open and his face is smilling. His hand is in the dharmachahra or abayamadra pose. The drapery has well-marked folds and is held by the left hand. The dress covers both shoulders in some figures while generally the right is here. On a stray chaitya slab may be seen two medallions of sacred sculptures in the place of the Buddha.

The base of the stopa on the slab can be seen adorned with slabs carved with Buddhist symbols and having a coping. Above the front slab rise the *apaka* pillars, octagonal shafts with square carved capitals decorated with the wheel and the dagaba. In the middle of the dome is a broad belt of very rich sculpture from the Buddhist stories. Still higher up are square and round medallions of sculptures. At the top of the dome is the square box and the latter is crowned by umbrellas. Towards this, the deves, pakshar and migor are flying.

The Chakris Pillar

The chakra pillars' have at the base a throne with cushions and *iripada* attended by two persons with fly whisks and worshipped by another two. The shaft is beautifully divided into sections ornamented with busts of men and minusts. Above are three lions over which is the rayed wheel. On each side of the shaft are five figures riding on different animals. Above the top most of the group is a female dancing excitedly and above her a paksha. Towards the wheels, heavenly beings are seen flying.

Over the whole, i.e., the chaken pillars and the chaitya slab between them, runs the frieze² ornament with animals below and a broad band above with the Buddhist symbols attended by devotees and with scenes from the life of the Buddha. Between these are inscriptions in second century characters.

Besides the above-described type were chaitya slabs with little sculpture. The former was the miniature of the

Burgess, pl. xlly, fig. f. * /b/d., pl. xlij, fig. 4 aud pl. ylviji, lig. 4.

"mahāchaitpa" of Amarāvail, as it was in the second century A. D. While, the latter was representative of the monument as it was before that period."

Images of the Buddha

The images of the Buddha discovered at Amaravati belong to Mahayana which countenanced the worship of the Buddha and the Buddha's who gave uiruina to the faithful. The images must have been added to the stupe and placed in the chapels at the gateways and in the chaityas. They are of varied types and in the Gandharan style. They had generally the usinism, a definite cranial protuberance, and ample robes, and the head was covered by small, short coris.

The biggest image is 5'3" high but its hands and feet are broken off. It is of the conventional type with the simple robe thrown over the left shoulder and arm and descending upto the ankles and displays greater skill than its kind in Ajanta. Even the big and flabby images of Amarāvati² and Nāgārjunakunda are stem and dignified to look at. There are smaller images as badly defaced and of the same type. The left hand is on the lap and the corner of the robe, on the wrist. The halo over the head and the covering of both the shoulders are evidently copied from Gandhāra. There are also images of the Buddha in stucco and bronze which exhibit considerable skill in art, the bronzes being of the standing and preaching type.

There are other statues in the round which might be figures of kings. One of these exhibits great care and accurate skill. A necklace with seven strings with a square clasp round it, the belt holding the cloth in position and even the very threads of the cloth are represented in detail.

Animals and Men in the Sculptures.

The animals at Amaravati are characterized by the same naturalness as at Saüchi and possess more of freshness. The lions sculptured on the pillars in the chaitya slabs (which are ministure Asokan latis), the elephants, tigers, horses and birds

Some specimens of the second type have the many headed cobra rwisting round the stops signifying the great devotion of the mages to the Buddha.

A.R.A.S.L., 1905-6, pt. II. Burgess, pt. II.

[&]quot; /6/d/. 1908-9, pl. szviii.

are well done. Human figures of various cuts and proportions. foreign and native, are drawn with determination, curiosity, attention or pathos as the case may be, from the squat and pot-bellied servants to the beautiful kings and queens. In one panel, the muscles of the strong man are well indicated, while, in another² the beauty of woman is shown with considerable skill. At one place, a fighting scene is drawn very spiritedly with weapons raised,3 and troops on foot, herse and elephant advancing. A pathetic scene is vividly represented at another place. The scenes of cestatic dances and musical treats are full of life and realism in which may be found a rich variety of musical instru-All the strains of music that delighted their ears, all the poetry that bubbled out of their lips and instruments, the very rhythm of the dance itself-are conveyed to us without an explaining label or inscription. In accurate floral decoration of a hundred varieties, vase ornaments and the rich animal sculptured panels, the artist has shown wonderful imagination and sense of symmetry. The best representation of man (a feature of Greek art) is combined here with the best representation of animals, leaves and flowers. There is movement in the animal, human and other studies, and figures are not of a dull, flat or uniform type, but have individuality, variety and realism.

Social Life

The social life depicted in these scriptures is not exclusively Andhra and they present us with varieties of dress, jewels and furniture. Roughly it may be said that the wearing of an upper garment was exceptional for men as well as women. Slim women sparsely dressed or clad in thin muslins reveal their coy and furtive graces, and girls, romping and merry, move about singing and dancing with their characteristic nonchalance. Ample and full robes, robes twisted round the waist with loose hanging folds, robes covering only a few inches above and below the waist, blonses, tunies and drawers which required tailoring (which was perhaps new and foreign), turbans of various elevations according to rank—a few studded with medallions—all these are represented

^{*} Burgess, pl. 23, fig. 4.

Fergusson, pl. 1x1, fig. 1: Hurgest, p. 39.

Burgess, pl. avii, fig. 1; pl. axv, fig. 2.

^{1 16}id., pl. zii, fig. 1.

⁴ Burgess, pl. vi, fig. 2.

[&]quot; Ibid., p. 35, lig. 7,

here. Heavy ear-rings, bracelets and necklaces are worn by both sexes, while no woman is without the tinkling bangles. and anklets so profusely worn even to-day by Andhra ladies. There does not seem to be any evidence of pose-rings or of bodices. The kings were turbans with jewels and medallions, and plenty of ornaments and were attended with the chairs and the chamara. Brokmins generally wore their cloth in the present day karham fashion and covered the upper part of the hody. The hair was worn in a variety of ways but the prevalent fashion seems to be not to shave the head. There are instances of women working up their hair in plaits and into knots bedecked. with bands and jewets.

Men and women mixed freely and equality between the sexes was the rule. Women are seated before men and wives before their husbands in the domestic scenes. The husband with his two wives seated on either thigh is a happy exemplar of domestic harmony,2 and scenes of music or learned discourse or dance in which women occupy the same place as men are highly characteristic of the religion which allowed women freedom to become nuns, to make gifts and to seek nirenus. However, the Buddha permitted only floral paintings in the monasteries and temples and not figures of men and women. He was at first distrustful of the principle of sex equality. But, Buddhism had to adapt itself to the currents of feeling then in existence among the masses. Equality between the sexes, the freedom of the jair sex, a deep appreciation of sexual beauty and an unconventional social life conveyed to us by the art of Ajanta and Amaravati seem thus to be removed from the austere ideals of the Buddha and the Aryan missionaries. In fact, a deep study of the fair sex is a marked feature of the artist of Amaravati which would do credit to Vätsyayana himself,

The chairs, studis, footstools, cots3, thrones with cushions, plates, goblets and flasks and the kapadi to carry loads reveal to us in full the domestic life of the age. The peacock and the dog

Burgess, ph. xxxll, fig. 1. Between the discs is the Vessactora Jäteka. in which the King is sealed with two wires.

Burgesa, pl. xxxii, fig. 1. Vessangura Jātaka, the princesa, ja saati wearing a petercost, bare above the walst and carrying a Mead! like a cooly.

[&]quot;Core are mentlemed in the Mayldavilla plates (third century A.D.). Bullock-carts with solfd wheels (as in our temple car) figure in ancient sculptures and may be seen even today in remote villages.

ied from a dish were some of the pets of the nousehold. Among the means of transport familiar to the Amaravati sculptor may be mentioned, besides the chariots, the horses and elephants used by the few, the boat and the country bullock-cart.

Influences of Amaravati Sculptures

Even if the above pictures did not portray local life exclusively, what impressions they produced on the Andhra people and what influences they exercised on the life of the age is more than what we can determine at present. It is well-known that Buddhism carried with it, wherever it weat, a civilizing, softening, ennobling and educative infinence and left lasting impressions in literature and philosophy, in marvellous artistic and engineering feats, in stupendous stupas and vihiras, in hig tanks and wellarranged parks and squares. Its religiou was pure morality and its God, man perfected (the Buddha). Not he, as he was but man, but his symbol was to be worshipped, How far such a transcendental system was followed by the people steeped in superatitions and fears is a question difficult to answer. To the people who believed in all, Buddhism gave a new hope and vision. To the philosophers who disbelieved in all, it gave a new system. of thought and inquiry. To the Kings who pgtropized all, it furnished peace-loving and mural subjects. That Buddhism had the wholesome effect of freeing individuality from bonds which weighed down its enterprise is a point beyond dispute. The wide travels of the Buddha depicted in stone had a liberalizing tendency, the north and the south came under the same cultural spell, life became full and culture spread to foreign lands. impossible to believe that the beautiful expression of the Amarayati murbles did not stimulate men into poetry or stir them into dramatic action. Apart from the peculiar pleasure and pride we feel in possessing these works of art and calling them. our own, there is also their inherent value according to any scheme of cultural values. In the words of Mr. Sewell, these gems of ancient Indian art are priceless for the wealth of the information they contain on all that makes the past history of a nation valuable or interesting to the student, the antiquary or the statesman.

Architectural Styles

Architecture as an art was as much indehted to the Buddhists as sculpture. The sculptures of Amaravati are the models of a

large variety of the then existing architectural styles which the later Andhra art developed. There are the circular and rectangular hats suggestive of the countryside and religious buildings on those models.1 There are small chapels with domical, curvilinear and rectilinear roofs.* The origin of these types is no doubt to be found in the elastic bamboos best in towards the centre. Later lithic work copied the original work in wood. There are civil buildings in the Americani sculptures with railed verandahs, arched gateways and arch decorations in the main part.3 They are storeyed, balconeyed and finished at the top with terraces. Pillars a like the Asokan lats, pillars with arched tops, octagonal based, circular banded and square capitalled pillars are seen in plenty. In one-storeyed building there are five stubi-like ornaments or finials in a row on the roof and from the two chaitys arched windows peep out human heads.5 In another is the barrel-vaulted roof as that found in the ex-cart or the palanquin a depicted in some scenes. Beautiful wavenous are found in some other panels. Alters with the pade? which have been found at Amaravati, and alters with other symbols like the flaming trisida (so peculiar to Andhra) were originally temples for worship and they served as models for later religious archicecture. At Karle so deservedly famous for its fine pre-Gandhāran sculptures and at Guntapalle, a veritable storehouse of Andhra buildings, is seen at its best the arched chaitya gateway, while at Chejrula is found the developed barrelvaulted roof.

Foreign Influences on Indian Art

Indian art is, according to some, a grand mosaic in which Persian, Greek and other elements shed their lustre. The socalled bell-shaped capital, the boney-suckle granment (which is but an Indian motif in fact) and even the use of stone for

Burgess, pl. xii, fig. 3; xxi, fig. 2; xxv, fig. 2; xxvi, fig. 2; xxvii, fig. 1;
 xiix, fig. 2.

^{*} Itid., pl. alv. fig. 3; axi, fig. 2; axavili, fig. 4.

³ Iôid., pl. xviii, 6g. 2; xlii, fig. 7.

^{*} Itid., page 90, tig. 28; pl. v. fig. 2; pl. xxl, fig. 2; pl. xxv, fig. 2; pl. xxv, fig. 2; pl. xxv, fig. 1. For small lift of the Asokan type, see the chaitya slabs. The buildings were mostly of wood or brick.

Hid., pl. 19th, fig. 2; pl. 21, fig. 2 for a smaller building.
 Hid., pl. 11, fig. 1; pl. 221, fig. 2; pl. 2215, figs. 1 and 6.

^{*} Ibid., page 31, illus.; pi, avli, flg. 4.

building are traced to Persia, while, the winged minute, mythical plants and moasters (abounding in Indian fables) came from Assyria. The image of the Buddha with the folds of clothing and a face like Apollo's and a halo like Athene's was first cut in the workshop in Gandhara under Gracco-Roman influences. In the classical style, the defineation of the muscles of the body and the modelling of the body are particularly noteworthy. The possible or anaments of Amaravati are Greek according to some but it is so only in name as they possess the same vitality and beauty or form as the Indian lotus.

But, the conception of Indian art as a seed sproming into rich foliage and flowers stimulated in growth by foreign influences now and then will be more real and historical. Long before Asoka, there were half ornamented with the loves, miscalled the bell. To acquire the mature skill in stone displayed in the Saörhi gateways and the carliest of the Amarivati sculptures must have taken conturies. However, in dress, in a few motits and scenes and in a certain polish of style, the classical influence is perceivable and it must have travelled to Andhra by land as well as by sea. The dominant impulse was undoubtedly Indian,

Some Optatous

'The Amaravati sculptures,' says Dr. Marshall, 'indeed appear to be as truly ludian in style as those of Biairbut and Ellora. They follow as a natural sequence on Mauryan art, when that art was finding expression in more conventionalized forms. They have inherited certain motifis and types which fiftered in from the north-west, but these elements have been completely absorbed and assimilated without materially influencing the indigenous character of these sculptures.'

The sculptures of Amaravati are as remarkable a product of Andara genius as some of the paintings of Ajanta whose originality no one has doubted. As flavell² has pointed out, 'the bas-reliefs of Amaravati (forming the decoration of the railing and of the mathle casing of the stopa itself) should properly be studied in connection with the freeco-paintings of Ajanta. They

According to V. A. Smith (see his History of Flor Art), the net of Amaracast was instabled to the air of Mestigadra of the age of the Autonites, p. 150.

A handbook of ladde Art, p. 38.

must have resembled the latter very closely when the order and gilding with which they were finished were intact; the technical treatment also is usually much more pictorial than plastic.' The most ancient paintings in Ajanta which has 'art with life in it' and 'scenes taken from Nature's book' in Caves IX and X are closely related to the Sanchi sculptures and may be ascribed to the period and patronage of the Andhra kings.' The treatment of Amaravati is original and local according to Fergusson² who would however trace its origin to the Hellanic style. By concluding that 'the best reliefs of Amaravati are also the best Indian sculptures', Grunwedel³ emphasizes the decided predominance of the Indian element.

In comparing the Gandhäran art with that of Amaravati, Rothenstein' wonders 'how one can prefer the somewhal claussy and provincial Gandhäran carvings to the dignified, supple and exquisitely carved figures and the lotus and animal designs which commented the temples at Mathura, Sarnath or Amaravati'. Codrington's believes that 'however foreign the art of Gandhära may be, its inspiration is admittedly Indian. Its iconography also is Indian in origin and derived from Indian sources. . . . It must, however, be acknowledged that the classical element in Gandhäran art, hybrid as it is, and decodent from the beginning can never have been the dominant factor'.

As regards the Graeco-Roman origin of the Buddha image, Dr. A. Coomaraswamy concludes thus: 'The only possible conclusion is that the Buddha figure must have been produced simultaneously, probably in the middle of or near the beginning of the first century a.n. in Guadhara and in Mathura in response to a demand created by the internal development of Buddhism which was common ground in both areas, in each case by local craftsmen, working in the local tradition." In fact, long before the first Buddha image was made in the Gandharan workshop, Indian masons had made images with the usinier, curly hair and long ear-lobes as at Both Gaya. The kekshanas of a Markapmanka

¹ A.R A.S.J. 1903-4, pt. 190.

Tree and Serpent Wurship, p. 157.

Buddhist Art in India, p. 157.

^{*} Codrington, Andent India, Introd., p. 4.

[&]quot; /6/d., p. 51,

Bistory of Indian and Indunesian Art, p. 60.

were well-known long before the first century A.D. The pose of the Gandhāran Buddha as a guru or prgi is entirely Indian. The history of image-making can be traced back to the age of Möhenjo-Daro and termouths figures have an unbroken record from the earliest times.

Hluen-Tsang's Dhanyukataka

A controversy has raged over the location of Hinen-Tsang's capital of Dhaoyakataka where he lived for some time, learns Abhidharma from Subbūti and Sūrya and taught Mahfiyina.2 Pergusson, Sewell, Burgess, Watters and V. A. Smith, identify the capital with Bezwäda, Says Watters it is hard to understand. how anyone could propose to identify a large monastery among hills and streams and having spacious chambers and great corridors with a building which is merely a remarkable tota situated. on a plain.' But, it must be confessed that Hinen-Tsang's account is too meagre for any positive identification. He formes a monastery of the Parvalailas east of the capital and another of the Awarafallar west of it on a hill. A former king erected them, made a path by the river (connecting them) and built halls with broad corridors of rock. They had all the artistic elegance of a great mansion and all the beauty of natural scenery. They were resorted to by saints and by 1,000 brothren every year for the rainy season. For a hundred years, in the time of the pilgrim, they had been descried and desolate. In a hill cave south of the capital lived Bhāvavivēka.

From the above account, it does not follow that the two monasteries were very near the capital. There are no extensive Buddhist remains at Bezwäda to justify our identification of the capital with it. A local Pallava inscription at Amaravati calls the place Dhinyaghata. There are evidences in the extensive mounds of Dharaoikôta and in Buddhist books of the existence at one time of big institutions there. If we are to judge from the extent of the establishment which accommodated hundreds of mosks every year, Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakonda) would be more suitable than Vijayavāda (Bezwāda). Let us, however, awajt

¹ For some prototypes of the Buddhu Image, see Cambridge History of India, vol. 1, plate xiz.

Watters: II, pp. 217-18. Beal: Life, p. 137.

¹ lbfd., Appendix.

forther excavations at Nagarjanakonda which promises to be a wonder-house of art-treasures of unequalled beauty and of inscriptions of inestimable value, Neither Amaravati nor Bezwäda could have been deserted and desolate in the seventh century, while Nägärjunakonda, an ancient capital of the kingdom of Dhanyakataka (which was so called after the town of the same name), was perhaps desolate at the period. Mr. Rea and Dr. Cunningham were against the identification of Hinen-Tsang's capital of Ditanyakataka with Rezwäda. The former argued that the establishment of Amaravati might have extended as far as the hills of Peddamaddur! four miles to the south-east where remains of a stupa and vihitas and of a few marbles are found. That Amaravati was known as Dhanyakataka and lent the name to the kingdom itself (Dhanyakajaka) is certain. But it does not necessarily follow that Dhanyakataka-Amarayati was the capital of the kingdom in the time of Hinen-Tsang,

The age of Amaravati was the age of fine marble sculptures in Andhra. There were a very large number of skilled marble masons and sculpturs in the country who attained a certain individuality in the art and thus came to form the Amaravati school of art.

³ M.A.P. 3889, Ap. 30, p. 2. G. O. No. 383. Public.

CHAPTER IV

NĀGĀRJUNA BODHISATTVA, THE KING OF MONKS

Is individuality is the keynote of the artigallery of Ajanta, the chairy of Karle and the 'house beautiful' of Amarāvati, it reached its perfection in Niigārjuna Bodhisatīva, patriarch and philosopher. If the Ändhra imperial hegemony was lost in obscurity, the Andhras made ampie amends by conquering the heart of Āryavarta through their brightest gem, more lustrous than their Kohinour and Golomba,' the sage of Parvata, a versatile genius and a wonder of the world. Legends have grown so thickly over this iliustrious personality that it is difficult to get a true picture of him and his activities. But he stands clearly associated with the new phase of the Buddhist religion, the Mahāyāna, as its systematizer, expounder and propagator, if not its originator. The author of Mahāyamiks and Sānyavada, Nāgārjuna was 'one of the four suns that illuminated the Raddhist world.'

Nagaritas was a South Indian Brahmin who turned Buddhist like many other Buddhist savants. The exact country of his birth is unknown, though it is said to be Vidarbha (Berar) in one account. According to Hinea-Tsung, the prince of Chinese pilgrims, Nagarijana first lived in a monastery near the capital of Dakshina Kosala which seems to have once extended its sway as far as the Krishna. Next, the sage lived in Po to mo to hill which has been correctly interpreted as Parvata, the name that is applied to Niigārjanakonda by an inscription discovered there recently. Parvata was above 350 h from the capital of Dakshina Kosala according to the same authority of the seventh century

* Wattens ; 1, p. 245.

⁽Krishes District Manual for the tradition about the two diamonds, p. 247.

¹ For leggeds and traditions of Nagarjana, see Walkeser: The life of Nagarjana from Tabelon and Chinese sources (Reprinted from Asia Major); J.A.S.R., vol. ii, pt. !, p. 115.

A.5.1 So. Nāgārjuna, a subject of the Šātavāhana king, as we shall see presently, lived mostly in Andhra and was a naturalized, if not a born, Āndhra.

Legends would make us believe that Nagarjuna was ordained in boyhood to evert a death at seven which had been forefold. But, we have reasons to think that he mastered Brahminical learning which he had at his command before he do ned the yellow robe. He is said to have attained siddhi by the favour of Tara at Kanchi according to one version and by the grace of Chandika at Nalanda according to eacther. Be that as it may, he soon canned a high reputation for scholarship and could compose poetry as well as he could discourse ou philosophy.

His journey to the nagar world led to his discovery there of the complete Projustanumia which was lost on the continent. The nagariaha at the bottom of the sea might be Ceylon which afforded ample field to later scholars like Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta. Nagarjana learnt the Paipular and other satura there and brought also a casket of relies over which he erected a staga. The staga referred to may be identified with the majkeckaitra at Nagarjanakonda to which the Ikshväku royal house devoted so much attention. On his return from the voyage which brought him great tame, he converted his king and 10,000 Brahmins. For one hundred years after his death, temples were erected to his memory and he was worshipped in them.

His Omninience

There is no branch of knowledge with which Nägärjum is not associated. He claimed omniscience, and an interesting story is told by Himen-Tsang relating to his knowledge of everything in connection with the introduction of Acyadeva to the aged philosopher.* With his remarkable scholarship, transcendental wisdom and all-embracing baruna, he was a true Bodhisativa. As a siddler puratha, he could make himself invisible. As a constant friend of Nature, he knew the course and influence of the stars and the virtues and ways of every plant and herb. In fact, in the latter field of medicine, Nigärjuna is a name to conjure with. No encolled treatise would fail to invoke his

Watters: II. p. 201. Maffers: II. p. 200.

blessings.' He himself revised Sacrata and is said to have written Kaksha pata tantra and Aragpaman/act. His eye prescription was well known in China; his cure for poisons is deservedly praised by Bana; and his recipes for several diseases were inscribed on public pillars, as a great Emperor had similarly made known the Law of the Buddha 400 years before him. Above all, he discovered the clixir of life, the loadstar of many ancient researchers and their grave. Knowing the secret of life, Nögärjena prolonged his life indefinitely as well as his king's. The story goes that he gave up his life with which was bound his king's at the earnest entreaty of the surviving heir to the throne.²

The Rusavatnākara of Nāgārjana has a reference to his abode in Parvata and deals, among other things, with his experiments in the killing of mercury, diamond, etc., which entitle himto rank as the father of Indian Chemistry. The epoch seems to have been one of unusual and restless inquiry as Nigarjuna himself speaks of another scientist Sakaada whose experiments were famous." Nagarjana was the inventor of the processes of distillation and calcination and an authority on minerals. He was the first to describe the propess of coasting from and to prepare black sniphide of mercury. So, his monastery on Parvata as a college of science must have witnessed many an experiment in Botany, Metallurgy and Chemistry and the able professor must have gathered round him a number of students to assist him in the discovery of truth. No ancient seer in the world has been free from the lure of alchemy, the almost killing quest for the philosopher's stone which would relieve the poor and shower manns to the many. Our illustrious sage was no exception to the rule. And the wonderful part of the story as told by Hipen-Tsang is that he succeeded in his efforts and converted rocks.

³ P. C. Roy: History of Indian Chemistry, vol. i, p. scri [Williams and Norgate]. Also Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society of India, vol. iii, p. 15 (1887).

According to Thematha, the Tibetan historian (about 1608 a.t.), the rayal contemporary of Naghrjuna fixed 150 years and perhaps the sage fixed double the proverhild span of life as he has passed down to posterly as one of our long-lived sages. See J.A. iv, p. 363. Also Takakusu; Itsiag's records of the Buildhist religion, p. 35.

² P. C. Ray, vol. 0. p. 6 and Summerif Texts on the end of his brook, p. 12.

into gold to provide his king with the large funds required for building the splendid vilsars on Parvata.

His Works

Nagarjana was essentially a philosopher. But philosophy then was ayamymous with knowledge and every Buddiest or non-Buddhist mont; was something of a naturalist and ductor. Nagarjana's core for spiritual ills was original. It was Sungar!

Only twenty-four out of his many works have come down to us, thought to the Chinese but for whom our Buddhist Recature would have utterly perished.\(^1\) Projuntation our Buddhist Recature would have utterly perished.\(^1\) Projuntation for karika,\(^4\) Mills-madhyamila sistra Hho.\(^3\) Projuntation for Madhyamila sistra,\(^4\) Dandhisa sistra, Sanyatapladhi, Madhyamianagamo sistra,\(^4\) Dandhisa sistra,\(^4\) Dandhisa Nikaya sastra,\(^7\) Projunta sistra,\(^7\) Projunta Kanaajya hidaya sastra,\(^7\) Ingahi Ingania Karika—ace, some of his books which represent his capacities as a philosopher, logician and debater. His prodigious and encyclopædic scholarship is impressed on every work of his.

¹ I. A. zvi, p. 160. Only 20 according to Watters II, p. 204.

E Nunțin's entulogue of Chinese Tripitales No. 1109, an encyclopardin of Mapaviria.

A 15 Seq: Plintury of Chipese Literature, p. \$10.

⁴ Naujio : No. 1135. ⁴ 1044., No. 1246. ⁵ 1864., (186. ⁷ 1864., No. 1196.

[&]quot; Blat., No. 1751. "Fāṇnaāslai mentions two more works publi multita and published. See Wasters. H. see also S. C. Vidyaloushan; History of tention Logic (Calcutte University).

are reconciled '.' Some of these precious peaks of thought were aken up by another gigantic though not versatife intellect, Srr Sankara.

In theory a nihilist and atheist, in practice he is said to investigated worship and devotion. If his theory of illusion led logically to the maps of Sankara, his practice of Mahayana led on to the Hindu Mackii cult. The figure of Nagaziona, and prominent in the history of the rise of Mahayanism, shows a double character. It is, on the one side, the name of an influential person, the first eminent leader of a school imback with Hinduism and the methods of Indian scholastic philosophy. On the other hand, Nagarjuna is simply a comprehensive name of the activity of Mahayanism in the first phase of its onward course."

One more work of Nāgārjuna may be mentioned here, his Suhrillikha ⁴ (all his works he wrote in Sanskrit) to his king which was committed to memory by the young and old in India in the time of Itsing (seventh century A.C.). The letter is of interest for the advice ⁴ to practise the threefold wisdom that we may clearly understand the noble eightfold path and the lower truths to realize the twofold attainment of perfection. Like Avaiokitēsvara, we should not make any distinction between friends and enemies. We shall then five hereafter in the Sukhā-vali for ever, through the power of the Buddha Amitabia whereby one can also exercise the superior power of salvation over the world ⁵. ⁵

The Hill of Nagarjana

From the description of Nāgārjuna's life and works, let us turn to the question if this king of monks fived in Nāgārjunakonda and lent his name to the sacred hill.⁶ It may be noted

¹ S. C. Vidvabiahati ; aute.

[&]quot;The great Nagarjuna is to be distinguished from this losser maniesakes the Pajangamis' and the alchemist, the baster mentioned by Albertal. That the great sage himself was a jumpist is not to be doubted. See Albertani: India (trans.), p. 189.

² Kern: Magnal of Buddhism, p. 123.

^{*} Nanjio: Nos. 1440, 1441; L. A. 891, p. 169; J.P.Y.S. 1833 and 1886.

Takakusu : Itsing, pp. 158-62.

^{*} There is a local tradition that Nagarjano was a king, but it appears to be as buseless as a similar reference to him in the Naja toram gial Trans, by Stella il., p. 19.

that the site of the recent excavations is called Vojayapuri in Parvata in an inscription found there. This Buddhist Parvata is but lifty miles, as the crow flies, from the Hindu Parvata or Sri Sailam and there is a tradition that the former is one of the gates of Sri Sailam. Both the Hindu and Buddhist Parvatas mass have been sacred from ascient times. There are no extant Buddhist traces in Sri Parvata of the Hindus in Kurnool district though a town of no small importance must have stood near it. So, the Parvata with which Nägärjuna is associated in Chinese and Tihetan literatures must be the Buddhist Parvata or Nügürjunakonda and not its namesake of Kurnool district.

Fahian, the first well-known pilgrim who came to India Irom China has left us only a few lines about Dakshina. He speaks of a Polo ya, i.e., Parava or Parvata, a munastery on an isolated rock, of a pyramidal shape, with five storeys each ornancemed with the figures of an animal and with 1,500 cells in all. It was well supplied with water by a wooderful arrangement and windows were cut in the rock to let in air and light. It was a sangkarama of the former Baddha Kūšyapa. It must be said at once that no remains have yet been found on the rock of Nagarjuna which stands spart and prominently. But, it may be surmised that Parvata was correspend into paravata which means a pigeon. The situation of Fahian's Polo ya fits in with that of Nagarjunakonda.

Hinen-Tsang's Po la ma lo kill, meaning black peak or black bee, is the same as l'ablan's Prile pu. Buth descriptions agree more or less, but the account of the later pilgrim is more reliable as he visited Dhanyakataka to which kingdom belonged Nagarjunakonda. 'The solitary peak of the mountain towers above the rest. . . The King Sadvaha, for the sake of Nagarjuna, tunnelled the rock and built a sanghardma. In the midst of long galleries with caves for walking under and high towers, the storoged building remines to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls with vihiras enclosed. In each vihira was a statue of Buddha cast lagold, of the size of life, wrought with consummate art and singularly adorned.' The arrangements for water and light are similar to those described by Fahian. 'In the topmost hall, Nagarjuna deposited the scriptures of Sakyanuni

Giles; The tracels of Fahsien, pp. 62-3.
 Beat: Bud, recepts of the W. World (Trubner), vol. i.

Buddin and the writings of the Panes. In the lowest half were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores and the three intermediate halls were the lodgings of the brethren.' Po Io mo Io kill is Parvata if it is taken as equivalent to black peak or black bee. For, Parvata is but an offshoot of the Nullamalais (lit. black mountain in Telugu) and Parvata might have been mistranslated as the hill of Pārvati whose other name is Bhramari.'

The Date of Nagarjana

Various arguments may be put forward to fix the age of Nagarjuna in the second century A.D. Perisass he lived on for a decade or two in the third century also. Chinese and Tibetan accounts? differ as to the date of Nagarjuna, but there seems to he a general agreement as to his contemporancity with Kanishka. In the list of patriarchs, Nagarjana is the next but one after Asynghosha who was for some time at the court of the great Kushan monarch, and Vasubandhu the contemporary of Samudragupta and his son was sixth from Nagarjuna. In fact, Kanishka, Asyaghost and other contemporary names figure in the works of Nagarjana. According to the Mahamama of Caylon, Arvadeva the disciple of Nagarjuna was a contemporary of Vohasa Tissa and Abltava, kings of the island in the third century A.D.3. There is an inscription in the stupa of Jaggayyapāta in fifth century characters of Revescad Niigārjuna's disciple's disciple. The juscriptions of Nagarjunakonda contain the names of some eminent Bhikshur like Bhadanta Ananda, Dharma Nandi, Chandramukha und Nāga. Nāgārjuna seems to have had two well-knows disciples other than Aryadava, named Nanda and Naga? and it is not improbable that they took an active part in beautifying the spot made hely by their garn and induced the royal family to reader all the necessary help. It is very strange that in all

The name of the Goddess of Sri Sallam to day. See Watters: II., p. 20; for an account of Pa to ma to bill.

² Indog. p. 181; I. A. 271, p. 353; Rajataranglud I, et. 173 and 177.

² J. A. 12, pp. 148, 315.

^{*} S. C. Vidyabushana : ayfe,

^{*} Geiger, ch. 56.

[&]quot; Burgess, p. 111. Fayuprablia, the disciple of Nagarjuna, is mentioned

Itsing f. A. Avi, p. 170 | Walleser, p. 21.

the inscriptions hitherto discovered, there is no mention of Nagarjuna who was also known as Nagahyaya (called Naga). There is no likelihood of the occurrence of the great www?s name as merely Naga without distinguishing and distinguished epithets.

The inscriptions of Nāgācjunakonda are in the beautiful flowery Ikshvāka script of the third century A.D. and the scriptures of the same style as the casing stabs of Amarāvati belong to the same epoch more or less. In fact, Tāranātha mentions that Nāgārjana erected 'the inner rail' at Amarāvati which enshrinad some celos of the Baddha.* Since the chaitya slabs of Amarāvati and those of Nāgārjanakonda are almost of the same style, it may be conjectured that the latter were carved early in the third century A.D. after the decease of the saint. According to one account, his Projett Wala Sastra was translated into Chinese by Hau Kan between 196 and 221 A.D.* We know for certain, however, that his life and spins works were rendered into Chinese by Kannērajīva about 401 A.D.

The Contemporary Albres

There are considering traditions recorded by Taranatha and others regarding the royal contemporary or contemporaries of Nagarjana. Neigher Upëndra (Vishno) the Nagaraja, who helped the sage is his search for the lost back on transcendental wisdom, nor Manja of Oriusa, who took orders and erected some vihāras at the instance of Nagārjana, can be considered historical.* The other alleged contemporaries are Bhōja of Vidhasha who also embraced Buddhism, Nimei Chandra of Aparanta removed by three generations before Chandragapta I (Gupta) and Sankara of South India who was vanquished together with thousands of Brahatins.*

² Manijusti Māja Kalpu, Hi, pp. 616-7.

According to Manjusci Malla Tantra 1, p. 88 and some Buddhist stories,

² Giles: Ellatory of Chancese Literature, pp. 119-20.

In regard to the latter, a peter-use to the kingdom as that of Exshavarglasma to traditions may afford a closes the contemporare sty of an Ikshvaku.

White Bhola was a general name for the Blags of Botar, Saukaro is said in the misspansiation of the original Tibetan name for Saukaro is (P. C. Ray II, p. astr.) In Sandanes of Broach mentioned by the Paristas pay be travel a member of the Chandra tamily. J.R.A.S. 1918, p. 110.

Satvahana or Salivahana was the family name of the kings of Andhra between about 225 n.c. and 225 a.D. after which date the Satavalianus disappear from the canvas of history. There is some one Śātavāhana who cannot now be properly identified round. whom a good crop of legends and literary traditions have prown up and they have not left out Nagarinna unenmeshed. Besides. in Raturatuskara, Nägärjena and Sälivähana, and Ratuaghosha and Mandavya are brought together. Hisen-Tsang mentions Satavāhana as the king and patron of Nagārjuna and his dominion mast have comprised Dakshina Kosala proper and Andligaproper as monasteries were built by him for the sage in both, Itsing calls the King Santaka of the Satavahana family? Nagārjuna's Suhrillekku mentions a name Jantaka or Jetaka or Sindhuka King of Shingto (India) and styled Satavahana. These names do not carry us any further than that a certain Satavahana (Sindhuka occurs in the list of Andhra Kings in the Vayu Paranu) was the contemporary of Nagarjuna. The Satavaluant, according to all testimony, was powerful and ruled over the Central Provinces and Andless. There was no such powerful Satavahana after the second century A.D.

The Ikshväkus very probably expanded south on the decline of the Satavähanas and were till then subordinate to them. The surname of the Ikshväkus and the name Chäntamüla bear a resembiance to those of the Satavähanas also called Santa or Santivahanas or merely Sata. Still, there is not even a scrap of sound evidence to equate the sage of Parvata and Mahārāja Vāsishtipotra Chāntamūla the first Ikshvāku and patron and performer of Brahminical rites.*

The Age of the Saint

The age of Nagarjusa was an age of general and all-round culture, a period of expression with the tongue and the style, the chisel and the brush. Nagarjunakonda stands to-day as the best monument of that epoch. Parvata, from the heights of which flowed Mahayana and Madhyamika, has brought Andhra a reputation which will endure as long as a single stone is left of

¹ P. C. Ray-aute,

Tukakusu, pp. 158-62.

Med; Life of istuen-Tsabg (Trobuer) introd., pp. 20-27.

Chāntemāla is Skt. Šāntamāla.

that sacred mount. All the art, all the philosophy and literature of the Buddhist epoch and what is more, the emotional instincts, the critical acumen and power of expression underlying them all are a priceless legacy which has entered into the intellectual make-up of the scholars and people of Andhra. And to this legacy has richly contributed Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva, the Aristotle of Buddhist lore, the Christ of Mādhyamika, and the St. Paul of Mahāyāna, a magical name baffling the most brainy in sheer intellectual power and moral force.

Nagarjuna's Successors

Āryadēva, the Buddhist zealot, Bhāvavīvēka the skilful dialectician and Dignūga who lived for some time near Vengi were some distinguished names who shed lustre on Āndhradēsa after the time of Nagārjuna. In her favourable climate were composed many works of rare shility.

The most prominent of Nagarjana's disciples was Aryadeva also known as Deva, Kanadeva and Nilonetra the fifteenth patriarch. Religious real and hery eloquence brought about the untimely end of this South Indian savant at the hands of an assassin. A sound scholar, a widely travelled man, and a writer of distinguished ability, he scored many a triumph over the tirthibar in Chuliye, in Kosala, in Pataliputra and elsewhere and occupied a high place in Nalanda. In his Satasastra, he refutes Sankhya and Vaiseshika. In his Chitta Visuddhi Prakarana, he ridicules the Brahmins' superstitions regard for the Ganges. He is said to have been fond of preaching the Andhakavinda Santanta.

Itsing places Bhāvavivēka earlier than Dignāga and Dharmapāla. Whereas, he is held as a contemporary of Dharmapāla by Hinen-Tsang. He was a follower of Nāgārjuna and lived in a cave south-west of the capital of Dhānyakaṭaka. He is the author of a number of learned and subtle works, Mahāyana-pearlin hand šantm, Prajna-jampiasim, Sankhya Tarhajvala, etc. He was a skilful dialectician who 'externally displaying the Sānkhya garb, internally propagated the learning of Nāgārjuṇa,' He was perhaps an Āndhra.²

A contemporary of Kālidāsa and disciple of Vasubandho, Digužga of Kālichi became a distinguished Vogachari and largely lived in Anchra. He travelled through Maharashtra and Orissa controverting the McMikus, converted a minister of the King of Orissa and founded sixteen mahavildinas. He was the founder of pure logic, which he distinctly differentiated from religion and philosophy. The Promana Samucaya ' one of the grandest literary monuments' was composed on a solitary hill with a stone stupa near Vengi, capital of Andhra. It was the carliest work on modern pure many which developed promana or evidence of knowledge. According to Beal, Diguiga had to controvert Isvara Krishna, author of the Sankhya Karika in Andhra. This star of the first magnitude in Logic was author of 100 treatises according to Italng. Some of his works were rendered into Chinese by Paramaraha in the sixth century A.D. He died in a forest in Orissa. According to Hiven-Tsang, Diguaga or Jina was an Andhra.'

Dharmakirti was the pupil of another South Indian luminary Dharmapäla of Käüchl. Undannted by social estracism, Dharmakirti propagated Buddhism, defeated Kumärila Bhatta the champion of sacrificial religion, controverted the Jains and tried to bring back Kalinga into the Buddhist foid. But, his missionary efforts were unavailing as, according to Hinen-Tsang, Buddhism had reached its nadir in Kulinga.

Several monks apparently of great distinction are found in inscriptions at Amaravati, Nagarjanakonda, Jaggayyapēta and Rhadreddipalle, but nothing more is known of them than their names.

Bent, vol. ii. Wotters, vol. II. Listeg by Takakasu, S. C. Vidhya-bushan—ante, I.A. IV, p. 363.





PART II

THE HISTORY OF ANDHRA BETWEEN 225 AND 610 A.D.





CHAPTER V

INTRODUCTORY

PULLIMÄYI IV was the last of the Satavahana kings. His rate must have ended about 225 A.D. allowing about four centuries and a half for the Andhra dynasty after the death of Asoka. During the bulk of this period, the Satavalianas were essentially a Decean power under whose negls there was progress in all fields of activity. Signs of decline had already been in evidence a hundred years before the final exit of the Satavahanas from the stage of rule. Trouble was brewing in the north-west frontier of their dominion. The Sakas, Pahlavas and Vavanas were making headway when Guitamijutra Šātakardi became alive to the danger and steinmed the tide of the foreign invasions. How far into the Decems their inrands had been made already, we are unable to know. But certain it is that the foreign hordes had come to stay. They continued to show attention to the Satavalues empire which they coveted; Pelumayi, son of Gautamicputra, tried to conciliate them through the good offices of the daughter of Rudradamon 1; but, their innate predatory habits and capidity were roused lato activity by the weakness of the Arsthra kings. Guided by discretion, valour failing, the successors of Yajia Sri confined themselves to their Ausbra homeland. Peace, however, was not vouchsafed to them. The expansion of the Ikshvakus from Dakshina Kosala and the assertion of the Patiavas south of the Krishna were the two events that inaugurated the new century. The Satavahana empire was dismembered; the last of the royal line flits ont of existence from the Bellary region, thanks to the Pallava; and the aggressive Ikahwhen gave short shrift to the remnants of Satavahana cower elsewhere.2

Puls is Dr. Sapith's view. But Dr. Dubrenit holds a different view.
 P. 44, Auctouf History of the Decemb.

^{*} There are some Andhra coins in the Central Provinces of some ectors of the old stock. J.R.A.S., 1963, 304; V. A. Smith: Catalogue of column in the Brigish Masseum, p. 268.

The Foreign Element

Coincident with the break-up of the Satavahana power were the fall of the Kushānas and the rise of the Sassanida of Persia. What relationship these events here to one another is unknown. But, it is likely that the rise of the Sassanids announced by a flourish of their war trumpets even far beyond their frontiers. might have extinguished Kushana hegemony and applied some pressure to the Sakas and others to push further into India, Whatever the ultimate cause was, there was disintegration and darkness in India when the Andhras of the Puranas ceased to rule. A number of foreign dynasties are said to have ruled in the post-Sătavăhaaa period, like the Gardabhias, the Sakas, the Yayanas, the Tusaras, the Murundas and the Maunas. After these came the Kilakila Yayanase and Vindhyasakti (250 A.D.?). The reminiscences of Yavana rule in Orissa and Andhra,3 references to Yavann beautactions in marry Decean inscriptions and to Yavans trade is in early Greek and Tamil books, the relationship between the Pahlavas and the later Pallavas and the mention of Gandhara and Yavana as familiar kingdoms and of marriage relations between the Ikshvakus and the Sakas in inscriptions at Nagarjunakonda.—these confirm that the foreign element in the Decean population was not inconsiderable, that the foreigners who were bitherto neighbours of the Satavahana campire spread over it and that the new dynasties had foreign mixture in them though they adopted Hinda habits and manners, gwent and ancestry in entirety.

The Assertion of Salavakana Fondatories

Among the native dynastics of the post-Satavahana period, the Matsya Parana mentions a branch of the Andhras known as the Sri Parvatiya Andhras of whom there were seven ruling for

^{&#}x27;Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society of India, Nevember, 1863, vol. 1, Part III, p. 18. 'Fransistion from Sampaki Chai Jung which contains reminiscences of a Persian investon of India repulsed by a king of Magadha, Dirarma Chandra, who belonged to a generation after Bucksha.

⁹ Pargiter: Dynasties, p. 72. The Visitain Parana calls Vindhyasakti himself a Kijakija Yayana.

³ Wilson: Catalogue of Mackenzie MSS-, Introd., p. exaiv; Hunter: Orissa, vol. i, p. 206; Vaidya; Mediaeval Hindu Jadia, vol. i, p. 351.

A. H.J.A., Leyden, 1927, p. 11.

52 years. They had begun to rule oven while the main Andhra dynasty had not died out. The Abhiras, another of the Satavahana feudatories ruled for 67 years after the extinction of their masters' rule. From inscriptions we learn that, in South Decean, the nage officials and princelings like Skandonaga asserted their independence and soon gave way to the Pallava who, according to later tradition, obtained a kingdom by a nage marriage. The Pallava, when he first appears in history, is seated at Kanchi with an extensive empire extending to Bellary on the one side and Amaravat! on the other. Beyond the Krishna, the Telugu country was ruled by the Brihatphaläyanas along the coast up to the Güdavari and the Ikshväkus in the rest.

Worldly dominion is not eternal, it changes hands according to certain physical and moral laws. The fortunes of the Pallavas, the Bribatphaläyanas and the Ikshväkus were shifting. A revival in the power of the Cholas of the south made its force felt on the ruler of Kanchi; the repercussions of the waves of the newly risen Kadamba dynasty made the Pallaya balt in his march towards begemony, acknowledge the Kadamba as a brother king and share with him a part of his territory; 2 and, above all, the invasion of Samudragupta temporarily paralyzed the Pallava by encouraging his enemies. The Pallava bowed to the inevitable and retreated for a while into his homeland of Nellore and Guntur to return to Känchi with added vigour. Save for this short interregaum, the Pallavas ruled from Kanchi the bulk of Andhra south of the Krishna uninterruptedly till the Chalukyas drove them to nide behind the walls of their capital. No doubt, they had to put up a hard fight all the while on the Kadamba-Väkäjaka war zone to their west and on their northern frontier with the nowly rises dynasties, the Salankayanas and their successors the Visboukundins.

The Sālankāyanas inherited the Ikshvāku and the Bribatphalāyana kingdoms between the lower courses of the Krishna and the Gödávari. About the middle of the fifth century A.D. the Vishņukundlos displaced the Sālankāyanas with the help they

¹ E. I., viii, p. 89, tor an inscription of Madharlputra Isvansena, Abbira.

^{*} E. I., xiv., p. 153. For inscriptions of the Chütus, see E. I., vii., p. 51; x. Ap. No. 1621, 1195.

^a E. I., viä, p. 24, Täjagunda inscription.

secured from the Vākāṭakas of the Central Provinces.\ The last of the Vishnukundins accepted defeat at the hands of Pulakēšin II and gave up his crown to the valiant Chājukya.

Beyond the Gödavari, the veil of impencicable darkness that prevailed about the history of the region is lifted by the expedition of Samudragupta. No trace is available there to-day of Ikahyāku or Vākātaka rule though it is not possible to believe. that both left the country out of their ambitious schemes. For sometime after 350 a.m., figure certain kings like Chandravarman. of an unknown dynasty. The Gangas of Kalinga get into the time@ght about the middle of the sixth century, found an era, try to bear back the aggressive Vislantkundles who had carried their banner of victory as far as Ramatirtham and produce a series of cowerful sovereigns who maintain their independence intact till they stoop to the Chalukya and let the delege pass over. But, the Chalakyan begeraony had come to stay. With a natural boundary on the east and with their own kinsmen on the west. the Chalukyas of the Telugu, country apprehended troubles from the Pallacas on the south and the Kalinga kings on the north. From the seventh century naward, we read of Pallava-Chalukya ways in the place of Pallava-Kadamba conflicts and of Chalakya-Kalinga rivalty Instead of Vishnakanilla-Kalinga encounters.

Sad as is the story of the wars, one cherishable object and been achieved. The whole of Andhra came under one rule, After the fail of the Satavahana, the country was partitioned among three or more dynastics. The beginnings of Telego literature, the completion of the Brahaminical revival and the increased economic activity resulting from a strong, unified administration were the greatest blessings of the long Chājukyan rule.

These, in fine, are the landmarks in the history of Audhra between 225 and 610 a.m. dealt with in the following chapters. The account is imperfect here and there for want of more reliable evidences like a picture drawn by an artist with senary data, but, so for as it goes, it has not violated the standard of Clio.

The Validatakas expanded into Auditro so the wales of Ikshväka full, set back the fide of Kadamha progress and proved a there on the sides of the Salankäynnes and the dynasty of Kalinga.

CHAPTER VI

THE EARLY PALLAVAS (ABOUT 225-340 a.D.)

The Pallarus, a mixed stock

Much has been written on the origin of the Pallavas. But, it is still true to say that 'no complete answer can be given at present'. The Pallavas appear as a ruling dynasty in the south and south-east of the Satavahana empire immediately after the last Satavahana king, Polumäyi IV. Their earliest inscriptions are like the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamiputra Satakami; and their early coins are similar to those of the Satavahanas whose rule is said, on numismatic evidence, to have extended upto the Palar. It is, therefore, likely that the Pallava dynasty started its career as a fendatory of the Satavahana.

The Pallavas were first, a Teluguland not a Tamil power, Telagu traditions know a certain Trilochana Pallava as the earliest Teluga King and they are confirmed by later inscriptions. The first Chaltikya King is said to have been met, renulsed and killed by the same Tribochana near Mudiveniu (Cuddappah district). Reference has already been made to a Buddhist story making Küla, the Nagarāja (resembling Kālabharrie an early Pallava name) king of the region at the mouth of the Krishna. We have also the evidence of the Mahawamia which makes mention of a large number of monks attending a consecration resembny performed by Duttagamini from Pallara Pagga (100 m.c.). Pallara Bagga may be identified with the kingdom of Kala in Andhra which had close and early maritime. and cultural relations with Ceylon and which was an ancient and popular home of Buddhism.1 The earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas were found in the districts of Bellary, Guntur and Nellore and all the inscriptions of the dynasty till the rise of

V. A. Smith, Early History of India, 1924 ed., p. 450.

F. F. J., vol. vi, p. 84; vol. 1, p. 2; vol. viii, p. 143.

They are doubtfully assigned to the Pallawas, see Rapson, Coins of the Andhrus, Kishatrapan, etc. pp. 28-1, 82; Also Rapson: Indian Coins, p. 128.

^{*} Geiger, Ch. xxix for Pattura Bagga. For Tritochana, see Chapter 1X, 18:100, For the story of Kāla, see J. S. 1807, p. 341

Simulatishou were found in the districts of Guntur and Nellore. It is established on inscriptional testimony that the Telugu country south of the Krishna formed the bulk of the Pallava kingdom till the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. The unitsolon of the Pallava from the lists of the Tamil dynastics in tradition¹ and early literature and the mention of Trilochana Pallava as a fee of the Chôla in the Karlkāla traditions and in the Chendalür copperplates (fifth century A.D.) lend weight to the argument that the Pallava was an intruder into the Tamil country.

According to the Vēlūrpālaiyam copperplates (ninth century A.D.) which may be taken to contain reliable traditions of the origin of Pallava power. Virakūrcha obtained a kingdom by a nāga marriage. In fact, the easily relations between the Nāga and the Pallava had become so well established by the time that the myth of the birth of Pallava himself to Asvathāmaa and a nāga princess had grown. So, at any rate, in the ninth century, it was acknowledged that the Pallava was not a nāga as he had to marry into a nāga family to elevate himself to the kingly position. On certain evidences, it has been argued elsewhere that the Telugu country, at least the southern part of it, was nāga.

The earliest Tamil literature that throws any light on the region associated with the Pallava locates a certain Tiraiyan the older in the modern Gudur taluk of the Nellore district with a kingdom extending to Tiraipati (or Vengadam) if not even beyond it. This Tiraiyan is called the elder to distinguish him from another Tiraiyan the younger s whose capital was Kāūchi. The younger Tiraiyan is traced to the solar dynasty (of Ayōdhya) and late Tamil commentators identify him as the illegitimate son of a Chōja king and a nūga princess.

⁴ The Macketsie MSS. According to traditions and the Peripopuranum, Karikāla introduced civilization into Kūnchi. So, the Pallavo came to Kānchi only after the Chöla.

The Origin of Saivisan, etc., pp. 19, 16.

Whether n\u00e4ga denotes! a rage, rult or culture is not chear.

^{*} Abam, 85; 340.

Patinppätta Perumbinia rappodat, 20-30, 454. He said Karikāla are sung by the same poet.

[&]quot; In his full pages. Tondamän Ham Tiraiyan, the last port Tiraiyan releta to the tribe to which he belonged, the tribal name originating in tirm (wave, or sea signatal which the prince of Känchi most have taken often

The Pallavas are the earliest to be associated by inscriptions with the region extending round Kähchi. The Tiraiyar are one of the earliest to be associated by literature with the same region. If the Tiraiyar were nagas, as it is likely since the prince of Kähchi seems to have obtained the name Tiraiyan from his naga mother, then the Pallavas who were not nagas originally, came to be mixed up with them. This amalgumation of the two is borne out by a very late Tamil account which classifies the Pallava Tiraiyar as a section of the Tiraiyan. It is partly on account of their mixed caste that the Pallavas were known later as Kaymar, Nitar (low easte), etc. much in the same way as the early Sanskritists classified the foreign hordes under mixed ws.2

Another tribe that is located in and beyond the region of Känchi by Early Tamil literature is the Armalar whose chiefs are said to have belonged to the Origa maga family.³ Neither their exact habitat nor their relation, if any, to the Bassaranagas of Ptolomy is known.⁴ He that as it may, the second hint that is thrown out by Tamil literature only emphasises the naga affinity of the dynasties that ruled in the northernmost part of Tamilaham and beyond it. And that the Pallaras were not nagas may be presumed from the two-distinct references to naga marriage in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates.

The original home of the Pallavas has to be looked for outside the first Pallava kingdom in Andhra as the lower valley of the Krishna was occupied by tribes of the Naga stock and as the Pallava had no Naga affinities at first. And, there will be no straining of evidence if we identify them with the Pahlavas, an ancient people who appear together with the Sakas and the Yavanas in early Sanskrit literature like the

his mother's tribe and not after his inthes's as the Chilles are not called Tiralyer anywhere. The second part of the full name Rem (young, skanda?) is used apparently in contradistinction with Reman (elder, Brillar) which was bosne by the Tiralyan of Pavittiri. And the designation Toudanda, similar to Malayaman and Adigaman has a territorial significance, denoting the land of temps crospers.

- ^a Kaunkasabai Fillai. The Tamils, 1800 years ago.
- Gopnian: The Pallavas, Introd.
- ^a Pulluppāļiu-Sirupanārruppadai, ilpes 111-126.
- M'Crindle, Proteiny ed. by Majumdar, pp. 65, 165.

Paragers and the $E/h(a)^{\dagger}$ and in some early inscriptions of Väsishtipurea Pulmmayi 2 and Rudredaman, 2 Dr. Jouveau-Dubecuil has traced, as far as available evidences permit, the evolution of the word and the migration of the people, Pahlava.4 Suffee it to note here that these foreign bordes seem to have penetrated into the Deccan even before Cantamiputra as he found confusion in the social order and restored the system of eastes. They seem to have come afresh to destroy the Śātavāltana esapire ultimately. Evidences of Yavana rale, of marriage relations between the Sakas on the one side and the Shtavahanas and the Ekshviikas on the other, and of a huge cataclysm, social and political, brought about by foreigners according to the Mattya Punion have been pointed out in a previous chapter. The Sakas and the Yavanas have merged in our society like the later Yue-chi and the Huns and so have the Pablayos. But, in regard to the latter, the name is still retained. When the Pahlavas made inreads into Andhra and mixed with the local tribes is enveloped in darkness.

Or. S. K. Iyengar who has expounded the indigenous theory of the origin of the Pallavas relies upon the later equation of the Pallavas with the Pophilyar, the Kädavar and the Kadavertis, the last titles being acquired by the creating of forests. It is remarkable, however, that early Tamil literature biliables the later Pallava region of history with tribes which bear no obvious relations to the Pallavas. Another interesting argument of Mr. Iyengar is the reference to two distinct Pallava kingdoms by Rajašēkhara of about the tenth century, one in the south and the other in the north-west. But, if will be readily granted

See Venkayya's article in A.A.A.S.J., 1995-7, p. 221.

Nāsik iets. E. I. vah, pp. 5, 9.

^{&#}x27; E. f., viii, p. 37. Girmar inn.; Suvisāklin Palelavo was Rudradāman's ratulsten.

^{*} The Palinyas.

Andert History of the Decean, p. 55.

Onne of the Persian and Assyrtan merifs in early Amazövnti sculptures may serve to regular as of early Pablava associations with the Tellight country...

^{*} J.J. H. il. Pt. 1.

Some contributions of S. India to India culture.

Copalett: The Pallurus . Introduction.

See also-Pontkon; The Pallarus, M. Scinlesgalyeagur; Tansil Studies

that the Pailavas of the south had changed beyond recognition of their original affinities in the course of centuries of stay in and of amplyamation with the Andhra and Tamil peoples.¹

Again, Ms. Rasaniyagam² has ingeniously worked out the Chōla-nāga origin of the Pallavas, basing his thesis on early Tamil literature. His theory would be plausible enough if a single reference to their Chōla relationship had been left in the Pallava inscriptions. Nor is there any the slightest resemblance between the mythical ancestries of the Chōlas and the Pallavas (though the Chōlas and the Tirniyar seem to be connected in a way in this respect). Both the scholars have, however, unravelled one-half of the Pallava mystery.

The only safe conclusion on the evidences available to us is it is possible that the Pallavas were not one distinct tribe or class, but a mixed population, composed partly of foreigners and partly of South Indian tribes or eastes, differing in race from the Tamils, and taking their name from the title, of an intruding foreign dynasty, which obtained control over them and welded them into an aggressive political power'. As the Pallavadynasty could not have risen to such a prominent and powerful position (which it occupied in about 225 A.D.) in a short space of

¹ Dr. lyengar quotes 'Firemangai's 'The Pallaca, who is the rules of the Tondalyar ' to prove his identification of the Pallawas with the Tondanyar. F. si Introd., Gopulant: The Fullzons. For one thing, there is not eren a slogle reference to the Pollavas as a tribe to the inscriptions of the Tologo country whereve the 'Tondalyar' denotes a tribe or tribes of the land Tondai. Secondly, a ruler of a tribe or tribes aged not be of the same orthe. Thirdly, the reference of the Alvar probably dissinguishes the Pallava from the Tondaiyar. Coriously, on app. avii and axiv, this, the Dector speaks of the caucing of the Fallawas leto. Toudaimandalam from the south-eastern nanches of the Satavalance territory (what those 'marches' were is not defined) whereas he was, just six pages above, identifying the Pullavas and the Toodalyse. Siese Totolai and Tondalman are mentioned in the so-coiled Sangam literature, shall we say that the Pullava was in the Tamil country in the so-culted Sangiou age i.e. early centuries A.D.? Again, the Pallovas as a people have to be distinguished from the Pallovas. as a dreasty. Did the Palities tribe of family come into Tondal from the ' marches ' ?

^{*} ℓ.∠ℓ., vol. III, p. 75.

² Italies ours.

V. A. Smith, 1994 ed., pp. 465, 482.

time, it is probable that it occupied a high place in the Satavahana court, governed a part of their empire as vassals and in time stepped into their shoes in South Decean having, in the meanwhile, strengthened its position by marriage and other means.

Genealouv and Events

All our information about the Early Pallavas is derived chiefly from the Mayidavolu. Hirahadagalli² and Kandukuru copper-plates³ from the districts of Guntur, Bellary and Nellore. Since they are paleographically of the same age, it is possible that the kings in them refer to the same person. Thus, the tollowing genealogy may be constructed.⁴

Sivaskanda's father About A.D. 225.

Mahārāja Šivaskandavarman or Vijaya Skandavarman

Yuvaraja Buddhavarman married Charudevi

| | Buddh(yan)kura

Since the father of Sivaskandavarman, the first Pallava king definitely known to history, could have become independent ruler of the region round Adoni in Bellary, district only after Palamnyi of the Myakadoni inscription (about 225 A.D.), his

^b E.L., vol. vi, p. 84; M.E.R. 1900, p. 4.

¹ E.L., vol. i, p. 2.

³ E.L. vol. viii, p. 143.

The table of kings of the earliest period on p. 33 of Mr. Gapalan's book contains some obvious mistakes: (a) There is no reason why he should only finddhavarrana and put to fluddhyankura as the son of Skandavarrana since to admits Buddhavarrana as a tulet on p. 34; and on p. 48 he distinguishes Sivaskanda from Vijayaskanda. (Vijaya is a profix indifferently applied to kings and capitals). (b) It is not explained how a Viravarran is placed before Vishangopa (340 a.c.) on p. 33 and how its same Vira, apparently, is placed after Vishangopa on p. 58. (c) On p. 39 again there is some confusion in: Haddhavarrana Buddhyankura. See p. 165 of his book for the contents of the British Museum or Kandhaūru C. P. On p. 35 he says that the decisies consideration for identifying Siraskanda with Vijayaskanda is paleographical similarity between their places. On p. 39 paleographical considerations lead blue to place Vijayaskanda between 275 and 340 a.p. after Sivaskanda,

accession to sovereign power may be dated towards the beginning of the second quarter of the third century A.D.⁴

The first Pallava king bequeathed to his son an extensive empire and a definite economic and religious policy as Sivaskanda does not appear to have struck a blow to build the empire and as he continued the patronage of Brahminism. Sivaskanda's father gave a great impetus to the revival of Brahminism (which was dormant on account of Buddhism) by his polices and grants of lands and crores of gold pieces to Brahmins. His distribution of one lake of ex-ploughs must have been in pursuit of a defiaite scheme of forest reclamation and spread of agriculture in his kingdom. From his capital city of Káñichi, Skanda's father ruled as far as Bellary on the one side (as Skanda has enlarged his grant there) and the Krishna on the other where there was a Pallava viceroyalty according to the Mavidavölu copperplates.³

'diopalan fixes the passing of Tondontandalan tulo the bonds of the Pallavas from the Chola feudatories about the closing years of the third century A.t., p. 36. On p. 35, he assigns trappateva to A.D. 215 and Skamha, his san, to about 240 A.D. If Tondal was not conquered by Skamha at least, who conquered it? We know so little about Skamha's successors but we know for certain that Khōchi was his father's capital. The ruler of Khōchi most always be presumed to be the ruler of the surrounding region. On p. 59 Gopalan assigns Sivaskanda to 220 A.D. and Vishiningopa, apparently, separated from him by a generation to 349 A.D.

² Is it possible that Vicak Ercha was the father of Sivaskanda? Mahārāla. Virakõrehavarman was a plous and victorious warrior according to the fragmentary inscription at Darsi (E. I. vol. i, p. 367) dated in the reign of his great grandson. Its alphabet is archaic and most be assigned prior to Origida H, C.P. It is the time of the donor of the Daral fragment the alphabet was archaic, then his great grandfather Virakorcha musi be assigned to a more ancient period. This Virakörcha cannot be identified with Virayarman of the copperplates $\{I,A_{ij},\mathrm{vol.},\mathrm{v},\mathrm{p.},184\}$ as the Darsi imagment could not have been engraved in archaic alphabet in the time of Viravarman's great grandson whom we know to be Simhayarman, donor of Östgödn H, C,P, So, it is more reasonable to identify this Virakörcha. with the Virakurcha of the Veinepalatysia plates (S.I.I., vol. il, pt. v) who 'acquired a kingdom simultaneously with the hand of a page princess' and thus founded the greatness of the Pallavas. If Virnkincha, father of Skandasishya, was the first independent Pallava King, we may not be wrong in identifying him with Bappa or lather of Skandavarman Mahamia. According to the Velorphisium plates, Virakurcha is removed from Kājabhartr by a generation or so. Is it likely that the Salavahana bayemony.

Maharaja Šivaskandavarman succeeded his father during whose reign he had played his part as Yuvaruja. He styles himself Dāarma Mahāraja, agnisktomin, vājapēyin aad asvamēdhin. He was thus a more powerful sovereign than his father but there is no certainly that his empire was bigger than his father's. At the time of his rule, about the middle of the third. century A.D., the Bribatphalavanas ruled what was later known as the kingdom of Vengi and the Ikshväkus were perhaps in possession of the Andhra country stretching from about Sri-Sailam northward and extending indefinitely into Dakshina Kāsala. and along the coast north of the Guditvari. How far south of the Krishna and for how long a period lkshvaku sway extended is a matter for speculation though it cannot be doubted that Amarôvati with some epigraphs in likshvijku serint was once and for a short time part of the Ikshvaku empire. How far south of Köñelti Patlava sway extended we are unable to say but it is known from later sources 1 that there was to be a Chola revival against which the Pallava could burdly contend. If Pallava power in the time of Sivaskanda covered a considerable part of Karnata outside Beliary is not known, though we are told later. that the Kadamba with the alliance of Baihat Bing fought from the forests of Šri Sailam and wrested a part of his bingdum from the unwilling hands of a successor of Sivaskands.2

There are two achievements attributed to a Skandasishya whom we cannot positively identify with Mahārāja Šivaskandavarman. One is the capture of the phatiha (university town?) of

in theater and Nellore districts was already underpolant before Virokercha as it was done in some other parts of Andhra by the Rahvallus?

It is very stronge that Gopálan locates Virabifrelia two generations before Vovámaháraja Vishqugópa (p. 36). He is ideottified with Vinavariana (same as the Viravariana of his table on p. 38). But see pp. 51 and 50. On p. 50 he hosites Virakūrelia (Viravariana) (we generations after Vishinagopa. On p. 54 Virakūrelia ascended the throne in 358 a.m. as his son Shandusishya (donor of Gragada C.P. i) was a contemporate of Satyasena, Kahatrapa. So, two generations of kings have pated between 340 a.m. and 358 a.m., genering that Vishinagōpa ceased to tale in 350 a.m. On p. 61, Gopálan suggests that Vishinagōpa ceased to tale in 350 a.m. On p. 61, Gopálan suggests that Vishinagōpa ceased to tale in 360 a.m. On p. 61, Gopálan suggests that Vishinakurcha alias Viravariana is mentioned in the Darsi fragment. Then, the farchoid fragment belonged to the age of Sirkhavariana, donor of three copportpates. Strangest of all, is the alleged marginge between Chila Pallava and a nága princesa referred to by Göpálan on p. 64.

Velürpöjalyana C. P. S. I.J. J. pt. v.,

Thiagmpda ins. E.J. viii, p. 24.

a Satyasena ' and the other is the construction of the orakal (single stone) machaba at Tirakkalakansam (Chingleput district).³ In the language of the inscriptions as well as in the administrative organization of Sivaskanda's reign may be noticed distinct northern influences which came in the train of the northern religious

Nothing is known about the specessors of Šivaskanda. The copperplate grant of Chārudēvi dated in the reign of Vijaya-skandavarman, her lather-in-law, records a grant to a temple of Nārāyana whose cult was already old in the Neilure district.

The next Pallava that we bear of is Vishaugopa of Kanchi (340 A.D.) who is said to have been defeated, among others, by the illustrious northern Emperor Samudaugupta,3 The Pallava was still at Käñchi between the time of Śiyaskanda and the time. of Vishnugopa. But, what happened after Vishnugopa to the Pallava hold on Kańchi we are merely left to conjecture. By this thue, far-reaching publifical changes had taken place. The Ikshvakus were a small power, and their whereabouts unknown: the Salankayanas and usurned the kinedom of the Baharuhalayanas and extended their rule upto the Ghats; the Kadambas were just rising under the fervous of a Brahmin Kshattiya; and from the Caula country came a new wave of expansion which engulfed Kaijehl and its lord. The masetticment caused by Samudragupta's expedition, the fury of the aggressive Madambaand the Chôla deluge, gave endless troubte to the Pallava Vishnugopa or his successor. He had no other alternative than a flight to his Teluga homeland as the only other direction where he could have sought refuge was the deep sea to the east.

The Pallava was only bidling his time. Kumbravishnu mentioned as having lived sometime after Skandosishya, captured Kanchi. And Buddhavarman, son of Kumaravishnu, was a

¹ Veritrphialyam C. P. J. I. H., vol. ii, pt. 1, p, 30 for Dr. S. K. lyeogur's identification of Satyacous.

^{*} E. J., vol. III, p. 279.

² White Dr. V. A. Smith dates Samudra's Southern expedition in 350 A.D. Dr. Pubrenit analysis the great event to 340 A.D. Strategic reasons must have directed the king's attention first to the morth but Dr. Dubrenil follows Harlsenn who composed the Allahobard line and dates the southern expedition earlier.

veritable submarine fire to the ocean of Chöla forces." The Chöla fire was quenched and Käächi once more became the Pallava metropolis and continued to be so for five centuries. The Kadambas could not be so easily disposed of and many a hard battle had to be fought by the Pallava and by the Väkätäkä to keep them within limits. Once, they overran the whole Tamil country and the Pallava howed to the storm and let it blow over. The interesting story of the Pallava-Kadamba duel and of the doings of the successors of Vishnugopa of Känchi (about 340 a.p.) will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

'Vélürpálmyam C. I', Dr. S. K. Iyangar takes the 'Chôla torces' to refer to the Kalabhass of Chôla. p. xxill. Introd. Gapaina t The Pallarns. See p. xxiv tor bis view that there was no Chôla Interregium at Kañchl betore Komañravishgu. But, in the case of the first, the word 'Chôla' uced not be strained to refer to a Kalamba or of some native stock of Tanjare district. The logical inference from the Velurpálaiyam plates can be none other than that the Chôla was in Kāāchi and Komañravishgu and bis son drove him out. Gapaian after expressing agreement with his Professor's opinion suggests that Kamañravishgu might have captured Kāāchi from a cousin of his or from the Kadamba thus tacitly coming round to the views that there were two branches of the Pallara and that there was an interregnum at Kāāchi before Kumāravishgu. For Kalabhas-Kalamba and log Panda Raghavniyengar's view of the native Kalamba, see P. T. Srintyaeasiyengar: History of Tamil Culture (Madras).

CHAPTER VII

THE IKSHVĀKUS (ABOUT 225-340 A.D.)

The name Ikshváku carries back our memories to the glorious Solar dynasty of Srl Rämachandra. According to the Paratus, of the 100 sons of Ikshvaku, 48 ruled Dakshina. The foundation of Asmaka and Mulaka (on the Upper Godavari)" is ascribed by the Paranas to the Ikshvakus. While Lava ruled Uttara Kosala from Sravasti and became the founder of the dynasty of the well-known Prasenilt, Kusa founded the city of Kusasihali2 at the foot of the Vindhyas, married a naga princess and held sway over Dakshina Kösala (the kingdom proper corresponding to the modern Chattisgath division of the Central Provinces). The last of Kusa's descendants known to the Puraga was Brihadbala, but, we have reasons to think that the dynasty did not end with the beginning of Kall as the Puranas would make us understand. The recent discovery of valuable epigraphs at Nagārjunakonda has given the lie direct to the tradition that Ikshvaku rule became extinct in centuries before Christ. Perhaps, even Bahubala, the last of the kings known from the said inscriptions was not the last of the Ikshvākus."

Thehraku relationship was coveled

The high prestige that the Ikshväkus enjoyed in the Decean may be gauged from the desire of many of the South Indian dynastics to associate themselves with them in one way or other. The Chōlas and the Gangas* claimed descent from them. The

Kösthalapura of the Allahabad inscriptions of Samudragupta *

Rice: Myzore and Coory from inseriAtions, p. 30: E.C., vol. vii, sh. 4, 64.
 For Chôla descent see E.J., xviii, p. 26. For them 'Firstpan's pedigree see

Perumbanerrupgdui, Haes 29-30.

Mojaka is porth of Asmuka. Or, it may be the later Mujiki niklu of instriptions, round Sci Sallam. Figur, 88, 177-8, 198, 297. Patent, iv. 2, 3.

⁵ The address to the Buddha as 'the Illustrious Ikshväku' in a Nigärjunakunda Inscription and the leglusian of Suddhodona and Gautana in the Ikshväku list of the Purfines introduce us to a still another branch of the eterlous line of kings.

Tiralyar chief Tondaman Ham Tiralyan of Känchi is given a similar pedigree by the poet. Trilochana Pallava is said to have come from Oudh according to some traditions and has early associations with the Sri Sallam region. The pretensions of the Chafukvas to have come from Avodhya explain their anxiety to link themselves with its famous dynasty. The Kekayas of the Decean were proud of their marriage alliances with the Ikshväkus and the Rajarishis," The Kadambas were Haritiputrus and ' perhaps descended from Angiras, Angirasa Haritas being of the Ikshvaku lineage '. If we can rely on the tentative reading of the new inscriptions by the Madras Epigraphist, one of the earliest of the Chāļukyas (called Chaliki there) married an Ikshvalm princess. An Ikshvaku princess is said by a Nagarjunakonda inscription to have married the king of Vanavasi, the capital of the later Kadambas. Neither the Satavahanas nor the Sakas (who seem to have been mainly responsible for the dismemberment of the Satavahana empire) were free from the attractions of the Ikshvaku family. For, in the surname and even in one of two of the Ikshvaku names found in the new inscriptions, one may perceive the hidden relationship between the Satavahanas and the Ikalwakus. Dr. Vogel's rightly guesses. that Rudradhara Bhattarika of Ujjain, the Queen of Vira Purushadanta the second Ikshyaku of Andhradesa kaown to us was a Saka princess. Above all, one fact is clear that the Ikshvakus were the most famous family of Andhradesa, north of the Krishna, in the third century A.D. This position they attained after the last Satavahana who has been assigned to the first quarter of the third century A.D.

The Ikshvahus and the Sri Paranta Andhras.

That the Śātavahanas ruled over Andhradēsa in the second century A.D. has been incontrovertibly established on sound numismatic and epigraphic evidences. So, the Ikshvakus must have expanded from Dakshina Kosala southward after the extinction of the rule of their suzerains, the Śātavāhanas (225 A.D.). The celebration of the asvamēdha by Chāntamūla, Mahārāja and

^{1 &}amp; C., vol. xi, Introd., p. 5, D.G. 161.

⁵ flood. Gaz., vol. l. pt. ii, p. 287, t. a. 4.

² A.B.J.A. [Lander] 1927, p. 11.

Väsishjipatra, was an assertion of his power and independence after the break-up of the Satavahana empire. While his capital is not definitely known," the extent of his empire was limited by the Paliava dominion in the south, south-east and south-west and by the kingdom of the Bribatobalayanas in the eastern half of the present Krishna district.2 Chantamula is said to have annexed the great army of Virupäksbapati which may be taken to mean a defeat of the king of the western direction. If the great deed was accomplished by the Ikshväku in his enpacity as general of the Satavahana's army is more than what we can say at present. Nor can we answer precisely who the King was that was thus overthrown. For the last of the Satavahanas, Polomayi IV is said to have rated the Bollary region, and according to the Malsya, a dynasty of Audhras known as the Śri Parvata Andhras. began to rule even during the life-time of the parent Satavaliana dynasty.

The only dynasty that we know of in the Sri Saila Pranta in the post-Satavahana period is the Ikshvakar. The only dynasty that resembles the Satavahana in name and surname (e.g., Vasishtiputra and Madhariputra) and is of the Andhra country is the Ikshvaku. Like their overlords, the Ikshvakus were great patrons of Buddhist art and letters and this cannot be said of any other Satavahana feudatory, the Pallava or the Bribatphalayana. In fact, the Ikshvakus took up the threads where they were left and continued to add to the spiritual lustre of their land by further beautifying Sri Parvata which has deservedly been mentioned more than once as a very sacred spot in the sacred Andhra country in the Arya Manjasri Mata Kalpa.

The Ikshvākus, thus, succeeded to the cultural inheritance of the Śātavāhanas, as they did, to a large part of their temperal

Vijayapari, east of Sri Parvota (Nögör)anakonda) is mentioned in an inscription and there are remains of civil buildings there. So it is likely that the capital was not far from Nögör)anakonda.

Figure is no evidence other than praction to show that there called any other than the Săravăhonas în the earliest historical period in Andlira. Nor is it definitely known if, at any time, the Iksivătus held away over the whole of Andhira. There are, however, a few place annes which may indicate Iksivătua avay. Ikshupuri (Cheratatra) in Guntar district, Kākantam in Krishna and Ganjam districts, Kākantli in Nellore district, Kākantlivāda (Cocanada) in Godavari district, Kākāntli in Gentur district are some of them.

Vol. 1, p. 38; vol. iii, pp. 627, 628.

dominion and augmented the intellectual traffic along the Krishna with the outside world. So close seems to have been the affinity between the Ikshväkus and the Šājavāhanas and identical as are the Parvata of the Parvatiya Āudhrus and the Parvata of the Ikshväku inscriptions, as also the periods of their rule that the suggestion is irresistible that perhaps the Puranic Šaila Āudhrus were the same as the Ikshvākus who andoubtedly ruled over the regions round Nāgārjunakonda and Jaggayyapēta in the second quarter of the third century A.D.¹

Chantamala and Viva Partichadatta

Three generations of kings are supplied by the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakopda.² From an inscription of the reign of Mahārāja Mādharīputra Šrī Vira Parushadaṭṭa, we get to know of this father Mahārāja Vāsishṭiputra Srī Chāntamula. The latter was a great vēdie sacrificer and performed the agnihotra, agnishṭoma, vājapēya and ašvamēdha. He also made the gifts hiranyakoṭi, gośatasahāsara and halaśatasahāsara and thus patronized the Brahmin. These acts reveal the great vald/bl in Chāntamula who was thus a saint-king of the ikshvāku race. Though there is no room to suspect any partial leaning in him to the retigion of the Buddha, like most of the kings of old, even this raldiki must have respected all the retigions then existent as the members of his family have contributed much to the Buddhist buildings on Parvala.

Chantamata 'of unconquerable will' had a son Maharaja Mādharaputra Šri Vira Purushadaţta, the only Ikshvāku hitherto known to us from his Jaggayyapēta inscriptions. He has been immortalized in the splendid benefactions at Nāgārjunakonda by the members of his family to the Buddhist communities resident there. The reign of Vira Purushadaṭṭa was a red-letter day in the annals of Andhra Buddhism, as royal patronage of Buddhism was not found in such a large measure at any subsequent period-Most of the ornate Ikshvāku epigraphs are of his reign and also

⁵ There is such a paneity of materials for the period that we cannot basard much beyond the realm of hypotheses. It may also be beene in mind that we know of no carlier likewish a first Salia region than Chimnemata and that no their thin cutta literactif Auditra.

^{*} Par ien. etc. sec M.E.R. 1926 Ap. and p. 93; M.E.R. 1927 Ap. and p. 71; A.R.A.S.I., 1925-6; A.R.I.A. (Leyden) 1926 and 1927.

⁶ E. J., vol. x, Ap. Not. 1202 and 1203.

the large number of stupas, chaityas and vihāras recently excavated at Nāgārjunakopda. In his reign lasting more than twenty years, he made Parvata not only the beauty spot but the fountain of learning also in Āndhra. Curiously, the inscriptions supply us with no definite evidence as to his own religion, but it may be presumed that all his efforts were concentrated on the glorification of the religion of the great Ikshvāku, Gautama the Buddha.

The whole site of Buddhist buildings was called Vijayapari in Sri Parvaia. But, every hill had a name as every stopa, chaitya and vihāra. The adjoining hills were called Pushpagiri, Dēvagiri, Kaatakašaila and so on.' The madachaitya containing the relics of the Buddha was renovated by Chāntiśri, sister of Chāntamūla, wife of Kandaśri of the Pūkiya clan and the aunt of the reigning king Vīra Purusha in his ever memorable sixth year. The ladies of the royal house take the lion's share in the erection of the buildings. The same Chāntiśri gave 381 coins (denari manka) to the 'mahānhai/pa' and bestowed her attention on other communities like the Sramanas, Brahmanas, Kavanas, and Vanijas. The two queens of Vira Furusha, Bapisri or Chāntišri his second sunt's daughter and Rudradhara Bāaṭṭarika of Ujjain vied with each ether in making gifts.

The benefactions of an upasika Bödhisti deserve special mention. Many chaityas, minitapas and tatükus were dedicated by her. In all probability she was a princess before she became an upasika. The vihāras mentioned in her long inscription are Chuladhammagiri Kulaha vihāra, Silaha vihāra, Dēverakana mahāvihāra, etc. There were, among other sects, the Pārra and the Aturukrihas, the Bahusruliyas and the Mahistankas. The construction of the buildings was supervised by Chandramukha Thēra, Dharmanandi Thēra and Nāga Thēra. Upāsika Bōdhisri is said to have dedicated a temple to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Tosali, Aparānta, Vanga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila,—lara, Ceylon, etc. This version of Dr. Vogel is slightly different from that of the Madras Epigraphist according to whom 'this hill (Śri Parvata) was sacred to pilgrims from Kāsmīra, Gandhāra, China, Aparānta,

⁹ There is no remove for identifying Kantakasnila with Ghanjasala neuthormouth of the Krishnu.

Vanga, Vanaväsi, Tämbupanal, etc.' Be that as it may, it is clear that during the third century a.p. there was intercourse between Andhra and the above countries which was fruitful of great cesults for the evulution of Andhra culture. The home of Nagarjuna must have attracted crowds of pilgrims from far and near and Buddhist culture flowed along the Krishna to the wider world outside.'

Of the hundreds of monks and nuns that lived during the heyday of the history of the Ikshväkus, Upäsika Bööhisri and Bhadanta Ananda, a great scholar of the frateznity of Nandigāma (Krishva district) who consecrated the maitachaitya stand our prominent. It is really strange that Nāgārjuna finds no mention in the inscriptions discovered thus far. According to Arya Manjuári Malakulpa, he was called Nāgāhvaya and he was wellversed in many Sautus, particularly in manyiri-pidya. He cutored Sukhāvati and attnined Buddhakood. Then, the work meations a certain Šanghā and a certain Nauda, also distinguished Bhiksus.²

Bahnbaha 1

The son and successor of Vira Purushadaqta was Maharaja Vasishtiputra Babubala Chuntamula. He may be roughly assigned to the last quarter of the third century A.D. In the second year of his reign, Bhattidevi, probably his mother erected the Devi vihāra and Kandabalisti his sister and Maharanl of Vanavāsi honoured the ascetics with another vihāra.

Perhaps Ikshväku rule continued for a time after Bahubala in Ändhra till it was displaced by the Šálankäyanas from one side and the Kadamba-Vůkäjaka expansion from the other. There is no evidence of any Pallava—Ikshväku conflict and the existence of inscriptions in Ikshväku script at Amaravati is the only indication of Ikshväku sway to the south of the Krishna along the coast. But, as yet it cannot be said with any degree of certainty that Ikshväku rule did not once cover the lower valley of the Krishna up to the coast. The Ikshväku-Pallava frontier along the Krishna was perhaps shifting from time to time.

Pallava-Kadamba rivalry on the one hand and Kadamba-Vākātaka conflicts on the other engross our attention after the

¹ Note the remark of Fabian that pilgrims came here from neighbouring countries; p. 63, Giles.

³ Vot. lit, pp. 620-7, 651.

meteoric descent of Samudragupta into the Deccan (a.o. 340). We are unable to identify the Ikshväku among the kings the northern Emperor encountered in the Deccan.' It is quite possible that the rise of the Kadambas was helped by the Ikshväku as Mayürasarman is said to have fled to the forests of Sri Sailam to war against the Pallava. There was matriage relationship between the Ikshväku and the dynasty of Vanaväsi in the reign of Bahubala, but it would appear that the Kadambas had not risen then into a ruling power.²

¹ We may look for the Ikahvāku in Svāmidalių and in Disaganjaya of Kāsihalapura. A tater Vāsisātiputra Šaktivarmau of Pithapurau has a surname like the Ikahvāku and the Šatāvābana. The later dynasties like the Kākatiyas who claim solar descent may be taged to the Ikahvākus.

I The new tescriptions introduce to us a number of new class like the Pakipas, the Dhatakas, the Sagaga, the Chalibil, etc., the last two being implicit in the names of some of the princes. The Isshväku must have married into the local langities. Chantist inartical her brother's sendyali, makatalarara Vasishiputra Skanda Sri of the Pakipa clan and their son was Skanda Sagaram nilga. Parashahajarara Sisher married Skanda Pirathanaga of the Dhataka clan, the makatalarara Skanda Chalibi Kammanaga of the Riramanaga (Ram, Ceplon, aliga?) dynasty. Apart from the peculiar significance of the name-ending maga, the word-reaguram and Chalibi seem to be of great import, as in all probability the Tamil Tiraiyar and the later Chājukyas lie hidden in them.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ŠĀLANKĀVANAS (ABOUT 275-450 A.D.)

The Bribatphalayanas

The Sitaikāyanas (whose dominion comprised the modern Krishna and West Gödävari districts) probably succeeded to the kingdom of the Brihatphaiāyanas who have left us but a single trace of their power in the Kondamudi copperplates. The epigraph is in prakrit and in archaic script similar to the early Pallova inscriptions of Sivaskandavarman. So, Mahārāja Jayavarman, Brihatphalāyana, belonged to the same epoch, more or less, as Mahārāja Sivaskandavarman of Kaāchi. While the Brihatphalāyanas ruled north of the Krishna along the coast, the Pallavas ruled south of the river and the Isshvākus west of the Ghata and perhaps north of the Gödüvari along the coast.

The Kondamudi plates refer to the region round Masulipatnam, the Küdüra of the inscription referring to Küdüra near that town. Küdüzü cannot be identified with modern Güdür as the latter was then within the kingdom of the Pallavu (and at some unknown period within the principality of the Perum Tiraivan according to early Tamil liferature). The name Brihatphaläyaga was perhaps a family name as such a gofra is not found in the extant lists.3 Under the induence of Brahminism, the chiefs of the mixed tribes along the Krishne and the Gödövari assumed Brahminical gottus' and titles and adopted Brahminical rites. The Brilliatphalayanas were one such family and assumed the title of Maharajas on the decline of Satavahana overlordship (225 A.b.). Jayararman was a follower of Brahminism and a devotee of Siya. What relations his family bore to the expanding Ikshvaku and the neighbouring Pallava and what happened to it after the reign of Jayavarman in the third quarter

¹ E.L. vol., vl., p. 315.

⁴ It is interessing to note the prefix By that to the Bana, to this Tiralyan and to the dynasty under notice.

¹ Bat, many godrar have been lost.

[·] In contrast to the Saturahanas.

of the third century a.b. are anknown. But, it may be presumed that the Bribatphalayanas were succeeded by the Sälańkäyanas after about 275 a.b. to which date, more or less, may be assigned Vijayadevararman, Śalańkäyana and aśvamēchin.

Salankayana Genealogy

Salankāyana was a Vēdie riski and his gutru was adopted by this dynasty of Vēngi. Visvāmitra, Šālankāyana and Kausika are the three properts of the Visvāmitra gana. Ptolemy locates a tribe, the Salakanai somewhere about the Oroudian mountains bordering the region of the Majadai but neither its exact locality nor its relation to the Sālankāyanas or to the Chālakyas can be ascertained at present. A similarity in the names of the Pallava, Brihatphalāyana, Šālankāyana and other kings, the epithet pitribhakta which they have and the emblem of the bull which they had, raise a presumption about the sameness of their stock.

The history of the Salankhyanas has to be reconstructed from half-a-dozen copperplate charters. Working from paleographic evidence and from the Sanadragupta-Hastivarman synchronism supplied by the Allahabad Pillar inscription, we may arrive at a workable genealogy and chronology. The two prakrit grants must be given precedence in point of time to the Sanakrit grants. Thus, Vijayadëvavarman of the Ellore prakrit grant and Vijayanandivarman and his son Vijaya Buddhavarman of another prakrit charter (now lost) came prior to Hastivarman (340 a. b.) mentioned

- ^a Pargiter: Indian Historical tradition, p. 237. M. R. College Magazine (Vizinangenm) October 1922, p. 36.
 - p. 172, M'Crindia: Prolemy, ed. by Majumatar.
- ¹¹ It is this similarity that has made some writers infer that the Pallavas were used refers up to the Mahanada. See Dr. V. A. Smith: Oxford History of India, p. 207.
 - (a) Ellore Prakrit grant, E./., vol. iz, p. 56.
- (5) Another Prokeit grant (unput-dished), I.A., vol. v, p. 175; vol. ix, p. 260.
 - (r) Pedda Vegi C. P. Bhilvelli. August 1924.
 - (4) Kollörm, C. P. J. A., vol. v. p. 175.
 - (σ) Καπτέτα, C. P., vol. ii. M.E.R. 1925, p. 73,
- (f) Kantëre, C. P. I., M. E. R., 1928, p. 73, Also M. R. College Magnetine (Vizienngram), October 1922.
- ³ It is atrange that even in the latest edition of Dr. Smith's Enrly History Hastlyanman is called Pallava. Also Kerilla of Mantarija is wrongly identified with lake Kollero which is near Vengi the Salankilyano capital.

by the Aliahabad inscription and by the Pedda Vēgi plates (in the latter as the great grandfather of the donor). It is not possible to assign to the kings of the prakrit charters a fourth century datum as prakrit inscriptions were rare then. Nothing more is known of the second and third kings of the prakrit charters, Vijayadēvevarman may be supposed to have founded the Śālankāyana power in Vengi as he celebrated the aśvamēdha, half a century after the Ikshvāku Chāntamūla who had performed the sacrifice on a similar occasion.

The Pedda Vegi plates supply four generations of kings in continuous succession as father and son, Hastivarman, Nandivarman, Chandravarmen and Nandivarman the donor. In this list, the first was the same as the Vengi for of Samudragupta and the script of the charter would confirm the datum for Hastivarman. The Kollert grant of Vijavanandivarman mentlops the donor as the eldest son of Chandravarman. There are two reasons for identifying the two kings of this charter with similar names in the Peddayegi plates: (1) the Kollero and the Peddavegi plates have the same ajnapti Mulakuru Bhūjaka (though it is possible that the reference was to the official of Mulakuru and not to a proper name), and (2) it is impossible to identify this Nandivarman the donor with Vijayanandivarman of the Prakrit grant or with Nandivarman, son of Hastivarman, of the Peddavegi plates as the Kolleru donor calls himself the son of Chandravarman and not of Hastivarman. Again, the resemblance in script between the Kollern and the Peddavegi plates has to be taken into account.

The Kantēru copperplates II may or may not be assigned to the donor of the Koltēru, Nandivarman. The epigraphist sees some slight paleographic difficulty in identifying the Nandivarmans, the donors of the Koltēru and the Kantēru II grants. Nandivarman of the latter may be the Nandivarman, son of Hastivarman. But, this does not vitiate our argument either as to the genealogy or the chronology of the period. Lastly, there is the charter of Vijayaskandavarman, Kantēru I. There is no place for him in the genealogy of the Peddavegi plates as they give a continuous succession for four generations. The script of Vijayaskanda's inscription is similar to that of the grants of Nandivarman, eldest son of Chandravarman. So, Vijayaskanda came sometime after Nandivarman as it may Vijayaskanda came immediately after Nandivarman as it may

not be possible to allow chronologically any other successor besides.

Mahārāja Vijayadēvavarman (EI)ore C, P,)

Vijayanaudivarmon (1)

son.

Ynvasāja Vijaya Buddhavarman (a Prakrit C. P.)

Mahārēja Hostivarman, 340 A. D.

500

Mahārāja Nondivarman (11) (Kantēm C. P. 11),

STITE.

Mehösāja Chaudravarmati

eldest soft

Muhārāja Vijayanandivarmas III (Peddavēgi C, P, and Količau C, P,) Mahārēja Vijayaskundavarman (Kamero C.P., I.

Chromology and some events

Besides the paleography of the plates, the only other determining factor for the chronology of the Salankayana kings is the contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Hastivannan of Vengi (about 340 a.c.). From this sheet anchor, we may work backward and forward allowing about 25 years as the maximum for each generation. We may also bear in mind some other facts. relevant to this chronological scheme. Vijayadėvavarman calls himself king of Vengipura and he was a mighty Maharaja. He could not have assumed the lordship of Yengi (near Ellore). when the Brihatphalayam Jayayamnan ruled very near Vengi. i.e., in and round Masulipatham. It is, again, unlikely that Vijayadēva performed a horse-sacriñce when the Ekshvāku power extended upto Jaggayyapera in the reign of Vira Purushadatta. So, Vljayadeva, Šālankāyana, ascended the throne some time in the last quarter of the third century A.D. Arguing now from the Hastivarman datum, we must allow for at least two generations. between Vijayadeva and Hastivarman and thus we arrive at the same date, more or less, for Vijavadēva,

Working forward from Hastivarman, we arrive at about 440 A.D. for the end of the rule of Vijayanandi, donor of the Peddavegi plates. His successor (brother?) Vijayaskanda ruled for some time when his realm was invaded by the Pallava from the south and subsequently taken from him (or from the Pallava) by the Vishaukundins who were rising into prominence to the

west and to the north of the Śālańkāyana. Closely interwoven with the chronology of the Śālańkāyanas is that of the Vishnukundins one of whose plates supplies a relationship with the Vākāṭaka chronology, the date of the last Vishnukundin itself being determined by the arrival of Pulakēśia II and his brother Vishnuvardhana. In the genealogy and chronology of the Śālańkāyanas we have left some intevitable gaps but they have not stood in the way of arriving at approximate results as to the general scheme.

Mahārāja Vijayudēva the asvamēdhin was the first to come out of obsentity and claim a high position among kings. Vengloura (represented to-day by the hamlets of Peddavēgi and Chimavēgi, 6 miles from Eliore) was the capital of all the Salahšāyana kings. The Bribatphalāyana power was destroyed, the Ikshvākus were on the decline and could not have clung to the Jaggayyapēta region on account of the new Śālahšāyana suprematy. There is no record, however, of Pallava-Ikshvāku or of Sālahkāyana-Ikshvāku conflicts. Vijayadēva was a patron of Brahmins and a devotee of Sīva and the Sun. At Peddavēgi are the ruins of a temple to the Sun which is reminiscent of Sālahkāyana associations.

Hastivarman is said to have won many military triumphs, over whom it is not stated. The Allababad Inscription reveals the utter displemberment of Kalinga and Anthra about the middle of the fourth century A.b. Hasti's war exploits may allude to his part against Samudragupta and to his victories, it any, over his neighbours of Pithapuram, Palakka and Känchi. The aftermath of Samudragupta's march seems to have been the weakening of the Pallava, the revival of the Chola, and the rise of the Kadamba. So, the Salankayana was suppeme. While little is known of the son of Hasti, Nandivarman the Charitable, Chandravarman seems to have inherited the warlike qualities of his grandfather. Chandra was the master of his neighbours. The Pallava charters. speak of the numerous wars that Viravarman and Skandavarman his son had to wage (against their neighbours). Attempts at exercising control over his neighbours ceased with Chandravarman, as by the beginning of the fifth century, Pallava expansion had begun once more. Vljavanandi III is known to us only as a worshipper of Surva and Vishau, his Peddavegl plates recording a great to a temple of Vishau, lord of the three workls.

The attention of the Pallava was first directed to the south from his homeland of NeBore and Guntur and Kumaravishnu recaptured Käncki and his son drove out the Chola forces at the end of the fourth century a.D. Pallava expansion northward is evidenced by the Mangadur grant of Simhavarman which doubtes a village in Vengöräshtra (Vengi). This Simbayayman was a contemporary, more or less, of the Salankayana Vijayuskandavarman of Vengi. So, the Pellava interregentia in the kingdom of Vengi took place in the time of the last-known Salankáyana. We do not know if the Salankayana continued in Vengi as a tributary prince or if the Vishnukundin conquered the kingdom of Vengi from the Pallava. Equally dark is the extent of the temporary Pallava sway in the northern districts in point of time as well as in point of territory. The rule could have lasted only for a short time as about the middle of the fifth century the Vishnukundin became ruler of Vengi. Madhava III the first Visnakandin to rule along the coast has made a grant from his camp at Kudavada in the Godavari district, and his great grandson Vikramendra has made a grant in the Krishna district. It may be plausibly argued that the Silbakhyana held to Vengipura as the first mention of Lenduling (modern Dendalüru) near Vengi as the Vishpukundin capital occurs in on inscription of the great grandson of Madhava Iil. But, it may he borne in mind that the last Salankayana plates so far discovered cannot be placed in the sixth century and that the Śślańkżyanas and the Vishoukundins could not have ruled side by side as Mahārājas for any length of time. It is equally difficult to assign a long period to the Pallava at Vengi between the last Sülankäyana and the first Vishaukundin rulers of the area.

Bruhminical Revival

Within the small ambit of territory delimited by the kings of Kalinga north of the Gödävari, by the Pallavas south of the Krishna and by the Kadamba-Vākāṭaka war zone on the west, the Sālankāyanas ruled with the proud and great title of Mahārāja, accelerating the revival of Brahminism and the resuscitation of Sanskrit language and literature. The threads of their policy were taken up by the Vishpukundins and a new imports was given to the rising tide of Brahminism by the protégé of the Vākāṭakas who were themselves in close touch with the classical revival of

the Gupta age in the north." Andhradesa is thus slowly lost to Buddhism with which her culture is saturated and the Kadambas, the Gangas and the Pallavas of the south come within the sphere of the Gupta religious and cultural sway. The cult of sacrifices largely swept away its enemy into the sea and assumed great importance in the state. Pargaminiamia was practised to a fault and the Brahmins, ever delighting in values, lighted the sacred fires which slowly quenched the Buddhist and scorched the Jalna creeds to death. The mention in the inscriptions of the Salahkäyana and other later dynasties of only Hindu temples and the reference in those records to Brahmins of various gatraspatronised by kings and yajnas celebrated by the rulers is a significant commentary on the relative positions of Buddhism and Brahminism. Kumārila Bhatta, Sri Śankarāchārya and the Bhakti colt were still to come with tempestuous force to Andhradesa to wipe away the two religions, Buddhism and Jainism, which had lost all vitality.

Faitish remarks about the desection of, and the Brahmmical revival in Pologue (Parvata).







Greener View of the Record of Tempole Britanyarovina. Nolloyd, Dr.

CHAPTER IX

THE LATER PALLAVAS (ABOUT 340-620 A.D.)

Genealogy

THERE is little difficulty in putting together the lists of kings supplied by the following copperplates and in evolving a genealogical table agreeable to the paleographic evidence and the historical facts supplied by them:—Origodu I, Uruvapaili, Pikira, Örigödu II, Mängadür and Chüra grants. The earliest of these is Örigödu I which resembles the Prakrit grants in point of dating and which supplies the following kings:—

Kumāravishņe, ašvamēdhin

800

Shandavatanno, acquired a kingdom

sam

Varavarmon, a great victor

SOD.

Vijayaskandavaridati, donor of the U.P. in his 33rd year,

The kings found in Pikira, Mängadur and Önigödu II copperplates are the same, Viravarman, Skandavarman, Yuvamahārāja Vishungūpa and Simhavarman in continuous succession as father and son. So, this list may be tacked on without dispute to the above, identifying Viravarman, son of Skandavarman of Onigödu I and Viravarman of the three later copperplates. Thus,

I. Kumarayishna.

300

2. Syandayarinan

8012

3. Viravarmed

SUB

Vijayaskandavarigan

800

Yuvanaalığınğa Vishpugüpa

BOIL

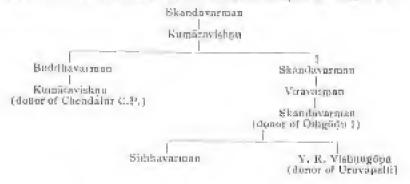
6. Sittibayarzonn

- ³ n. Origodu I (Guglü) district) E.L., vol. zv. p. 246, issued from Tämbrüpa (Chebrola) Guntür district.
- Uravapalli (Notice district) I. A., vol. v. p. 50, issued from Palakkada (Nellore district).
 - c. Pikira (Nellore district) E.L., vol. viii, p. 450, issued from Meamatera.
 - d. Ömgödu II E.J., vol. zv, p. 252; M.E.R. 1914, p. 82.
- Mängaditr (in Vergi, Krishan district) A.A., vol. v, p. 154, issued from Dasmapura (Nellore district).
 - I. Chera, M.E.R. 1914, p. 82.

The Utuvapalli grupt gives Nos. 2-5 in the above list, and No. 5, the donor Vishnugopa dates the charter in the eleventh year of the reign of a certain Simhayamnan. Dr. Fleet identified this Simhavarman as the elder brother of Vishangopa and Dr. Dubreuil has fallen in with the view of Dr. Fleet. While, Dr. S. K. Iyengar has identified him with No. 6 in the above list, the son of Vishpugopa on the granted that Vishpugopa did not ascept the throne as king. Apart from the improbability of the sather being Yuvaraja in his son's reign, the Veturpālaiyam plates refer to a king Vishnugüpa before Nandivarman and he calls himself a great victor which shows that he took great interest in temporal matters and nothing seems to have prevented han from ascerding the throne before his son unless it were the long reign of his elder brother Simhayarman. The China plates add to the above list their donor Vijaya Vishnog@pavagman, som of Simbayarman No. 6 and, puriously enough, call the father of Sumbayarman, Maharaja Vishnugʻopayarman.

So far, the arrangement is flawless. The primary difficulty arises in fitting in with the above list the line of kings found in the Chendalur copperplates. The difficulty is the greater as they are dated from Känchi while the half-a-dozen charters mentioned hitherto were issued either from Neifure or from Gantur district. Skandavarman, Kumaravishon, Buddhavarman and Kumaravishon figure in the Chendalür grant which is assigned in point of script to a period between 450-550 a.p.

Dr. Dubreuil has identified the first Kumuravishnu of the Cheudalur grant with No. I in our list above. Thus, he added a Skandavarman above Kumuravishnu and arrived at



¹ Æ.f., vol. viā, p. 239.

The difficulty in the above arrangement seems to be of a serious kind as the donor of the Chendain copperplates of about the fifth century is placed a generation earlier than Skandavarman, donor of Ömgödu I gram which, made in his 35rd year, was nearer the age of Prakrit grants in point of dating, etc. The French savant added Skandavarman and Nandivarman of the Udayandiram grant below Simbavarman.

Dr. S. K. Iyengār, whose arrangement was followed, more or less, by Mr. Gupālan‡ solved the problem in a different way.



The obvious defect in the above scheme is chronological. How to provide for three-sets of contemporaries, especially when the Doctor does not believe in the theory of two branches of the Pallava dynasty, has not been properly taken into account. Of the nine descendants of Skandavarman, not even one can be omitted from the ruling list (including his second son Yuvamahārāja Vishņugāpa) as there is inscriptional evidence to prove that everyone was a Mahārāja. In assigning dates and places in succession for the kings of his list, Mr. Gōpālan passes on Irom one branch to another in an arbitrary manner and chooses kings in succession is no particular order. 'The probability seems to be that soon after the reigns of Sithhavarman II and Skandavarman II... the Pallava kings Kumāravishņu II, who captured Kāāchi, Nandivarman I, Sithhavarman III occupied the Pallava throne '* If it is assumed that all the three

[!] S.I.L. vol. ii, p. 261.

² p. 59.

³ Pp. 68-69. Very strange it is that Kumāravishņu II is mid to have enptyred Kāñchi expressly ngainst the available evidence. Our arrangement.

branches ruled from Kähchi and it say of the branches is taken down to the ead, as it must be done according to the inscriptions. then it will become too late for the earlier members of the other two branches to rule, if not to live. The point may be explained further. The Kumbravishnu brunch is placed earlier than Vishpugopa and others and next to Skandasishya in the Velurpálaiyam plates a and it is assigned an early place in the Vävalür. list a however confused it might be in other respects. However, to follow Dr. Lyengaz and Göpálan, let us place the Kumáravishust branch next to Skandavagman as they do. Then, Kumasayishan I who captured Könchi was followed by his son Buddhayarman according to the Chendalür and Velurpālalyzm plates and Buddhavarman by Kumaravishnu II according to the Chendalür plates. Is. it reasonable then to assign the next places in the chronological scheme to Simbavarman and Vishangopa of the two senior branches, the grandfathers of Kumáravishna II ? Or, let us take the first line as succeeding Skandavarman. Then, Simbavarman

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of the available facts must be based on a historical and logical basis. Was there no rule of spacession? Administry, Dr. S. K. Iyengar engrounds the Knonficavishum on pp. xxiv-v. Compute the table on p. 89. On p. 53. Mr. Göpellen assigns Skandavarman, and et Virakurcha and futter of Shirinavarman, Vishnungapa and Kumidavishum 1, to 368 a. a.

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S I. I., vol. h. ac. v.

Kälabharu

ssa
Chilingalisva

Virakörelia. mirried a näga.

son
Skandasishyn, took the ghathen of Satyasenn
Kumänerlishdu captured Kähchi
son
Buddhovernenn, defeated the Châtas
Vishnegopa
Nandicarman
Siinhavargan
son
Siinhavargan
son
Siinhavargan
f M. E. R. 1988-9; Debresil : The Paklavas, p. 20.
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must be followed by a Skandavarman according to the Penakonda plates and the spurious Udayendiram grant.\ And when we take down the line to Nandivarman, it will be too late for the earlier members of the other branches. Nor will it be possible to allow the brothers Sighhavarman, Visingugopa and Kumaravishou to succeed one after another and then pass on to the next generation and so on. The essential difficulty arises on acrount of the fact that all were Mahariijas who must be assigned places in succession to Kañehi. Thus, chronological confusion results from this scheme into which three errors have crept: (a) the three sets of kings were contemporaneous, whereas it is clear. that the Kumiravishnu branch came earlier than the Vishaugopa line and it would appear that the first to capture Kāńchi was Kamäravishnu after whom alone the rest of the later Pallayas of Känchi must have come, (b) there was only one Pallava dynasty ruling from Känchi and there was no other in the northern districts, though none of the charters of Vishnugona's branch is dated from Kniichi and there are as many as five of them, and (c) the identification of Simhavarman of the Uruyappalli plates and Simhavarman son of Vishningona and the consequent confusion of the two Sinhayarmans and their aghjevernents.2

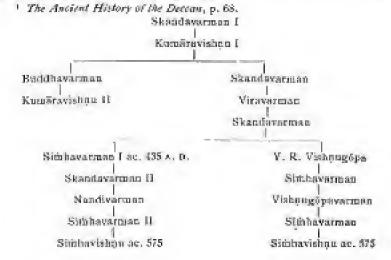
¹ The grant supplies Skandavarman, his sen Siddinvorman a great hero, his son Skandavarman and his son Mandivorman, S. J. L. vol. li, p. 361; J. A., vol. viii, p. 169, 213; E. J. lii, p. 147. For the Panakonda plates, see H. J. xiv, p. 331. Note this Simbourman a great hero had a son Shandavarman, while, souther Siddiatorman doubt of Orice grants had a son Plippa Vichnagopararman. The two Siddias are not identical. So at is reasonable to assume that the Pennisonda plates refer to Siddiavarman if the greathern' and his son Skandavarman had not to Siddiavarman II and Skandavarman II his successor of Mr. diopulan's list, p.39; 68–69 of his book.

^{*} Signararman brother of Vishnugöpa has to be clearly distinguished from Shahavarman son of Vishnugöpa. In our opinion the latter was not a king of Känchi though he was undoubtedly a great king and occupied temporarity the Salankayana kingdom. The first Shijkayarman and his son Skandavarman are mentioned in the Penekanda C.P. The first Shiphavarman are mentioned in the Penekanda C.P. The first Shiphavarman was the contemporary of Digadge of Känchi. He is mentioned in the Lahardbagar as the ruler of Känchi. There was always the atmost friendliness between the two branches of the Pallavas and on more than one accasion the northern line supplied a king to Känchi. Probably it was during the Pallavar

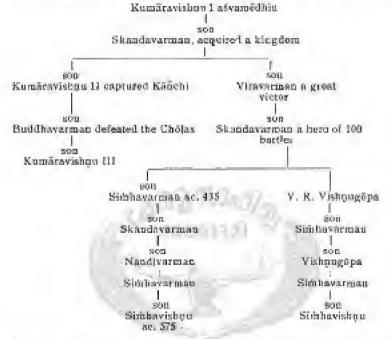
There is no reason why we should omit some kings arbitratily from a chronological frame-work. When it is distinctly known that Kumāravishņu and his son Buddhavarman were Mahārājas and distinguished ones too, it is not easily understood why they should be passed over and why only the donor of the Chendalür plates should be selected as ruler in his branch. The succession from Sidhhavarman, son of Skandavarman, down to Sidhhavishqu is more or less uninterrupted if the lists contained in the Penukonda, Vāyslur and Vēlūrpālsiyam plates are rend together. Can it be contended that Kāñchi was captured by a Kumāravishnu, and the Chōlas were driven out by Buddhāvarman between Sidhhavarman and Sidhhavishqu? If Vishqugōpa issued his Usuvappalli grant in his son's reign according to Dr. Iyengār and Gōpālau, then what was the place that Sidhavarman and his son Skandavarman of their list were occupying then?

All these difficulties are easily got over by Dr. Dubreuil's arrangement. By putting together the relevant parts of the Udayendiram, Velurpainiyam and Vayahir inscriptions, he gives a continuous succession from Sinhavarman to Simhavishnu, thus.' The whole scheme is clear, logical, chronologically sound and paleographically unexceptionable save for the flaw we have referred to already.

interregions in Vengi that Digunga went there and Buddhadalta was patronized. See Copillar, pp. 62, 69, for his identification of the two Simbayarmans.



In fitting in the Cheudalür copperplates with the Oragodu I grant, the question may be asked, why should we not identify Skandavarman of the Cheudalür copperplates with the first Skandavarman of Ömgödu I grant? Then we will arrive at



In the above scheme, the paleographic defect of Dr. Dubreuff's is avoided but we have to put in three kings of the name of Kumäravishnu whereas even in the longest list in the Väyalör inscription there are only two of that name. Again, the chronological difficulty has to be overcome. In the above scheme, Kumāravishņu, father of Buddhavarman, must be assigned to about 360 A.D. allowing 25 years for each generation backward. from Simhavarman (ac. 435). Then, we come to the border of the Early Pallayas whom we have dealt with in an earlier chapter. While it is impossible at present to identify Kumaravishon and his son Skandavarman with the Early Pallavas (the early Skandavarman having ruled about the third quarter of the third century), unless we date the beginnings of Pallava. rule at Kanchi at the end of the third century A.D., it is equally difficult to assign two such distinguished predecessors to Kumāraviskņu, the captor of Kāñchi somewhere between 300 and 350 A.D. If we identify Skandavarman son of Kumāravishņu in the above list with the Mahārāja Sivaskandavarman (ac. 250 A.D.), then it is untenable that a son of his should succeed in about 360 A.D. In fact, the relation between the Early Pallavas, Sivaskandavarman, Buddhavarman and Vishņugōpa and the later Pallavas Skandavarman, Kumāravishņu and others is not obvious though it is undoubted that the later Pallavas (of the Sanskrit charters) were lineally descended of the early Pallavas (of the prakrit charters).

Dr. Dubreull, however, offers the following explanation for the paleographic defect in his scheme. 'If, instead of comparing the letters, we compare the general aspect of the writings, the Chendalür plates appear to be a little irregular and disorderly which is a characteristic of the ancient documents, whereas, the plates of Uruvappalti, Mängadür, Pikira possess the order and regularity that belong to more modern writings. However, I do not believe that, in general, a comparison of the alphabets can give us any very correct information. Not only the plates of the Paliavas but also those of the Gangas and the Kadambas prove that the alphabets differ much according to the scribes who have engraved the plates; and the documents of the same reign do not sometimes resemble one another. Lastly, I think that there is no need to compare the Chandalus plates dated from Käncki. puram with those of Uruvappalli dated from Palakkada, Mingadur dated from Dasanapura and Pikira dated from Menmatura; the towns Palakkada, Dasanapura and Meamatura were probably in the Guntur district, that is, for away from Käechipurain and the difference of the countries fully explains the difference in the alphabets."

Chronalogy

There is only one definite date in Pallava history, that given by Lokavibhaga² according to which a certain Simbavarman ascended the throne of Känchi in about 435 a.p. This Simbavarman was the father of a Skandavarman according to the

[.] The Auctent History of the Deccan, p. 65.

² Mys. Arch. Rep. 1969-10, p. 45; J.K.A.S. 1915, p. 471, Mr. Krishna Sästri does not agree with the Lökaviöhäga datum (E. I. xv., p. 252) because it does not agree with certain astronomical particulars mentioned in Oringödu C. P. H. But, the Shiths of Löhaviöhäga was not the Sinhe of Oringödu.

Udayëndiram grant and both are mentioned in the Penukonda plates of Mädhava Ganga as having successively crowned two Ganga kings. Another datum of which we may be sure, more or less, is that of Simhavishan, a contemporary of Vishauvardhana and the poet Bhäravi. Working from the chronology of the western Chālukyas, we arrive at the same date, the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. for Simhavishan. If we include Vishaugöpa, after Simhavarman there ruled five kings between 435 and 575 A.D. and allowing for an interruption after Nandivarman on account of an apparent break in succession and perhaps on account of Kadamba troubles also, the average for each reign is not high. Three more generations before Simhavarman would take us back to about 360 A.D. for Kumāravishau the Captor of Kanchi.

Were there two branches f

The Early Pallavas described in Chapter VI were the accestors of the Later Pallavas. But, the link between the two is not clear at present. Originally it was the custom to inscribe in Prakrit but Prakrit gave way to Sanskrit in course of time.

As only the Chendalür plates among Pallava inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries mention Kanchi and connect the Pallayas with the city, we have to infer that the other Pallayas who date their copperplates from places in Nellure and Guntur districts were not connected with Kanchi at all. If they had been related to Kānchi, they would have clearly said so, as the Early Pallava and the Chendalur grants say. Again, the order of succession and chronology of the plates dated from Nellore and Guntur districts are without any gap and the kings of the Chendalur and Udayendiram grants cannot be litted into the list. In whatever order we may arrange the kings of these Pallava grapts, we have to confront two lines of contemporary kings. after the time of Vishpugopa (340 A.D.) A certain Ugravarman of Palakka (Palakkada?) mentioned as a contemporary of Samudragupta sounds like a Pallave name. And a pillar inscription at Amaravati in early Pallava script contains a Pallava dynasty.2 These would lead us to infer there was another branch of the Pallavas in the Telugu districts as different from the

Proc. of the Oriental Conference, 1922 and 1996.

² S.J.J. vol. 1, p. 25; E.J. vol. xviii, p. 148.

Pallavas of Känchi. Howsoever we may arrange the genealogy, a separate line of kings from Viravarman down to Vishougopa of the Chura plates not connected in any way so far known with Känchi, has to be postulated and they were cousins of the main line. To assign the kings of the two branches places in succession to the same kingdom of Känchi will lead to chronological impossibilities. The northern branch succeeded to Känchi when Simhavarman son of Skandavarman and, later, Shinhavishou ascended the throne in the south.

Was there a Chofu Interregnum ? 2

The Pallavas of Kānchi bad to contend against the Chōlas when they occupied Tondai, for Kānchi was within easy reach of only that Tamil dynasty, and was prized by the ambitious Chōlas and made a part of their empire. The Chōlas were the only foes the Pallavas could have had in the third century A.D. to threaten their dominion of Kānchi.

From the inscriptions of Mahārāja Sivaskandavarman it is clear that the Pallava sway round Kānchi was undisputed. Some time after Vishnugōpa must have occurred one of the epochs of Chōla revival. For, Kumāravishņu the asvamēdhin who may be assigned to about 360 n.p. is said to have captured Kānchi. And what is more, his son Buddhavarman is said to have fought hard against the Chōlas. The probabilities are that the Chōlas invaded and took the Pallava capital and a little later, the Pallava recaptured it.

Karikāla the great Chōļa emperor is connected by tradition with a Trilochana Pallava. Karikāla is said to have punished Trilochana for having disobeyed his orders. In early Tamil pooms containing references to the great deeds of Karikāla, this

Probably, there was another brunch somewhere in the Ceded Districts, where the Nolamba-Fallavas were found later and where the Himhedagalli plates mark on early Pallava sway.

** A.R.A.S.I. 1996-7, p. 724 and S.I.I., vol. ii, p. 500 for a Chüla interregonum. Bat, Göpälan argues against an interregoum, see p. 63. It may be that Karlkāla (fid not live so late but that cannot stand in the way of Chōja invasio). My. Kylshna Sastri suggests the Kadambas or the Chōjas as the asurpers, E.I. vol. viii. p. 28 and xv. p. 289. On p. 65, Göpälan suggests the possibility of a Kadamba interregonum. On p. axiii of Mr. Göpölan's book, Dr. lyengar says that the 'Chōjas' whom Buddhavarman fought were the Kalabbras, the Kaiambas of Buddhadatta. There is no certain evidence for the equation. The Chōjas were too weak to invade Kāūchi in the fifth century.

exploit against Trilöchana is conspicuous by its absence. The Chōja conquered the Oliya ungas and the Arnvalar of Tondai, the Vadavar (Telugus?) and the Podavar.

Attempts have been made to pitchfork Karlkāla into the Pallava period. There appear two interregaums in the Pallava history of Kānchi, before Kumāsavishņu I and after Nandivarman,² But neither of these periods would be suitable for Karikāla. According to the late inscriptions of the Telugu Chōlas who claimed descent from Karikāla, Karikāla II grandson of his great namesake founded one branch of the Telugu Chōlas. Dasavarman the second grandson conquered Pākarāshtra with its capital Potappi and Tondamāna the third grandson became lord of Tondal.³ Neither in the second half of the fourth century a.b. nor at the beginning of the sixth century a.b. would it have been possible for Karikāla and his grandsons to plant their power in the Telugu districts. Karikāla did not encounter the Pallava as he conquered only the Olipa nagas and the Aravalar in Tondai. This stage of tribal states in Tondai was pre-Pallava.

The troubles to the Pallava in the fifth and early sixth centuries came from the Kadambas. In spite of repeated Kadamba attacks, the Pallavas like Kumāravishņu II, Simhavarman, Skandavarman and Nandivarman were powerful. In the reign of the last king, the Kadamba trouble was at its height and the Chola fortunes were at a low cbb. Buckhadatta of the fifth century speaks of his contemporary Kalamba king in Chōlanādu, enough evidence for proving the sad state of the Chōlas.

Telega traditions and late Telega inscriptions equate Trilochana Pallava and Vijayāditya the first Chālukya king in point of time. And since Karikida and Trilochana are alleged to be contemporaries as stated above, the date of Karikida is sought to be established thereby. Vijayāditya was the grandfather of

¹ Pattienppälai, lines 274-82.

^{*}For full references on Trilochana Pallava, see my note Was Karikāla a contemporary of Trilochana Pallava? pp. 383-8 in the History of the Tamils by Mr. P. T. Scinivasa Iyengar (Madras, 1923) and Trilochana Pallava and Karikāla Chōja by Dr. Venkataramanayya (Madras, 1929), if the Chājakyas were in the Deccan in the 1814 century A.D., the story of the tavasion of Vijayāditya their first king will have to be revised. Neither Pallava nor Western Chājakya inscriptions speak of Trilochana and of his exploits against the Chōja and the Chājakyā.

² S.I.J. vi, No. 628; No. 680. See also M.E.A. 1900, p. 17 [22 August).

Pujakësin I (ac. 550 a.u.) and so Karikala Ilved in the fifth century A.D. But, it has already been demonstrated that the state of the Chola then was far from enviable and there was a contest for supremacy between the Kadamba and the Pallava. At any rate, the traditional Trilochana-Vijayaditya synchronism helps us little in fixing the age of Karikals in the fifth century. The continuous traditions about Prijochana from about the seventh century and the ambition of many small Telugudynasties of a later day to link themselves with him prove at best that he was an ancient and famous Telugu sovereign. The rise of the Chalukyas into a big power might have been attempted at his expense in the Sri Sailam region. But it is not possible to locate the rise of the Chālukya, the existence of a powerful Telugu state under Trilöchana Pallava and the glorious expansion of the Chola state under Karikāla (which was more powerful than Trilöchana's kingdom) either before Kumäravishnu I or after Nandivarman.

The Pallava-Kadamba rivalry

After Buddhavarman's defeat of the Chôlas, the centre of the storm that was brewing to swoop over the whole south was in the west, in the kingdom of the Kadambas of Vanaväsi. In the Pallava-Kadamba hostilities, the Gangas of Mysore were the subordinate allies of the Pallavas. The Pallavas lived to see the decline of the Kadambas and the rise and fall of another rival, the Early Chālukyan family.

The Tülagunda inscription," the most valuable for Kadamba history, relates that the Kadambas rose into power under a certain Mayürasarman who carved a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Pallava. Whatever the relation of Mayüra's dynasty to its predecessor, the zeal of the founder left its stamp on all his successors and the policy of war and death to the Pallava initiated by him (Mayūra) was followed with varying success. Kadamba expansion from its home, Kanara, was north-eastward across the present Ceded Districts, the

³ The Kadambas were picates. [Padirring@affn 11-12, lines 1-3, 12-13. See Majamdar's M'Criadle: Ptolemy p. 46. In goirs and in descent from Hariti, the Kadambas resemble the Chālukyas.

^a Penukonda C.P.

² E.J., voi. viii, p. 24,

^{*} E.L., vol. x. Ap. 1995 Luders's list,

cockpit of many a conflict, traditional and historical, between aspirants to political hegemony in the Deccan. The greatness of Kadamba expansion in the course of half a century (350-400 A.D.) can be gauged from the fact that the Vākāṭakas had to expand in the Deccan by defeating them and from the value attached to the Kadamba marriage alliance by the Vākāṭakas (the Guptas).

The Kadambas were perhaps the first to succeed in dislodging the Pallavas from a large part of the Coded Districts, i defeated them several times and kept them at bay from their new capital at Uchangi in Bellary. After Kumäravishnu I the asvamedkin and captor of Kānehi, there were two branches of the Pallavas, the senior branch ruling from Känchi and the junior ruling the northern districts. There was close friendliness. between the two lines and they united against their common focs the Kadambas. While Buddhavarman was engaged in wars against the Chola, his cousin Viravarnian 'the victor,' the bravest," the only here on earth' and the subduer of many kings' was engaged in wars with his neighbours. Kumaravishnu 11 of Kānchi probably ruled jointly over both the parts of the Pallaya kingdom as his Chendalur charter makes a grant in Guntur district. When Skandavarman, son of Viravarman, ascended the throne of the northern Pallava principality, he had to continue the traditions of warfare bequeathed to him by Kumaravishou. If and his own father. Skandavarman was 'the hero of 160 battles '. His younger son Vishougopa was again 'a great victor.' His elder son Simhavarman succeeded to the throne of Kanebi and he and his successors had their share of wars as we learn from Kadamba inscriptions. Once the northern branch took the aggressive against the Sälankäyana as Simhavarman (son of Vishaugopa) ' who subdued an assemblage of kings' has made a grant in Vengorashtra. The Kadambas were the mighty enemy of the Pallavas during the epoch. 'Their trouble reached the highest pitch in the fifth century. Builled by the Väkätakas in their attempts at northern expansion, the ambition of the Kadambas was directed against the Pallayas and their allies the Gangas. The relative positions of the Pallavas and the Gangas

³ Rice; Mysore, H. Mayñra the founder attacked the Pallava in the forests of Sri Satlam.

may be understood from the crowning of the Ganga Āryavarman and Mūdhava by Simhavarman 'the unrivalled hero's and his son Skandavarman. The Gangas were in subordinate alllance with the Pallavas possessing as much territory in Mysore as could be held against the aggressive Kadambas and the suzerain Pallavas.

The numerous Kadamba inscriptions present to us a vivid picture of the martial activities of the dynasty mainly directed against the Pallavas. Rughu was a great hero. Kākusthavarman (ac. 425 a.b.) approated the Gangas, destroyed the Pallavas and boasted of his imperial connections.* Mrigesavarman (ac. 475 a.b.) was a veritable fire of destruction to the Gangas and the Pallavas.* Ravivarman (ac. 500 a.b.) approated Chandadanda of Kāhchi and re-established the Kadamba family. The Pallava fomented dissensions in the Kadamba family by siding Vishnavarman against his consin Ravivarman.* Vishnavarman was the son of Krishnavarman who waged a disastrous war with the Pallava king.* Ravi rose to the occasion, slew his rival and dethroned the Pallava.

From the Pallava and Kadamba inscriptions of the fifth century, it may be easily gathered that a most disastrous and unceasing war was being carried on between them, fortune now favouring one and at another time, the other. Perhaps, once or twice the Pallava had to abandon his capital, but as often he carried the war home to the Kadamba. The territory of the Ceded Districts, more or less, was the bone of contention in all the rivalries in that area but it was the plaything of fortune. A late reference to Nandivarman Pallavamalla's succession to Kānchi from somewhere that region shows that the Pallava stuck to some portion of it. The reduction of the Kadamba who had reached the zenith under Krishnavarman II (ac. 550 A.D.) 'lord' of Dakshinapatha' and who befriended the Ganga by a marriage alliance was no easy task.7 The Chāļukyas alone could do it and the very tiger of the family 'with the boar crest', Pulakesin II reigned supreme over them. Even before him, Pulakesin I

Udayêndirara C.P.

Tolagenda las.

Haisi C. P. I. A., vol. vi, p. 75.

^{4 1.} A., vol. vi, p. 29.

E. C., vol. v. R. L. 131, vol. xi, latrod., p. 5 and D. C. 161.

I. A., yol, vli, p. 30, Rice, Mysore and Covrg. p. 24.

⁷ Dubreuil A. H. of the Dec., p. 106.

(ac. 550 a.b.) captured Paläsika (Hülsi) and Triparvata and Kirşi-varman I defeated Krishnavarman II. Kirtivarman was in fact 'a very choice elephant of a king who broke to pieces the Kadamba tree'. Thus, the Kadambas were reduced to vassalage and the Gangas were separated from the Pallavas. A new power rose in the Decean, the Chilukyas to continue Kadamba politics with the Pallavas and conquer at a sweep the bulk of the Telugu country.

With this change in the Decemeane a change in the Pallava succession. After Nandivarman the victor came Simhavarman, father of Simhavishno belonging to the northern branch according to the Väyalür inscription. Simhavishno (sc. 575 A.D.) easily made himself master of the Tantil country and started an illustrious age in the annuls of Tantil religion and arts.

The Annuala Goira

We do not know for cestain whether the Kadambas at any time extended their rule towards the Andhra coastal districts. But the Ananda Götra founded early in the sixth century A.v. has the Kapidharaja like the Kadambas' and it had its dominion in a part of Gonfür district. Kandara' the first of the Ananda Götra so far known is said to have fought with his enemies at Dhünyakataka. The latter brought in their army a number of elephants which he routed, Defeating Bennanatha (the lord of the Krishaa), Kandara captured Analara Sandara and drove a wedge between the Pallaya and the Vishnakuntin kingdoms. But the family was not independent for long. The grandson of Kandara was a feudatory of Mahendravikrama, Vēgavatisanātha (lord of the Vēgavati he, of Kānchi i) perhaps Mahendravarman I is (ac. 600 a.p.)

Rice: Mysore and Courg, p. 24.

- * Howevey Gazetteev, vol. 1, pt. 11, p. 395—Dr. Fleet writes thus; 'The name Kandara is a variant of Krishna; and this suggests that we may possibly have here an early Rashtraküla record '. Probably Kandarapura (Kantern) in Gunjār district was named after Kandara.
 - 5 S.L.L., vol. vi, 155 of 1899, ins. at Chaptain,
- Was be a Pollara or a Vishaekug@io that Kuadara had to deal with?
 Probably the latter.
 - ³ S.J. L., vol. vi, p. 155 A of 1990, the, at Chejrilla.
- * Could it have been Vikramendra I the Vishnukundin (end of the fifth century)? There is evidence for the swap of the Vishnukundin round Dhānyakajaka. M.E.R. 1925-6—Ins. at Vēlpāru near Annarāvati on the right book.

Two more names of the Ananda Götra are known to us, Mahārājas Dāmōdaravarman and Hastivarman.\(^1\) Their grants were made in the same district and it is obvious that they did not expand beyond it. Dāmōdara was a devotee of the Buddha, performer of Brahminical rites and patron of the Brahmins. People and princes were generous to all religious in those days and Dāmōdara was a typical product of the times.

The Ananda Götra claimed to belong to Dhányakataka and Trikūtaparvata (perhaps near Nāgārjunakonda). From their names ending in varman and their built seal, they were considered as belonging to the Pallava stock.

Obscured for some time by the hoar-frost of Kadamba expansion, the sun of Pallava glory shone again with undiminished lustre from Kanchi to the Krishna. The epoch of the great Pallavas beginning with Simhavishou was ushered in and together with it a new political rivalry. But, the Pallavas were not destined to be the masters for long of any part of the Telugu country. The Chalukyan invasion left Mahandravarman I son of Simhavishou only a few Telugu titles (as a painful reminder of his northern dominion) and ample scope to expand to the south where his family carved for themselves an immortal name.

¹ E.L., vol. zvil, p. 327; M.E.R. 1930, p. 95. I.A. ix, p. 102. The Mattepäd (Ongóle taluk) plates of Dämödera are in Sanskrit and prakrit and suggest for him a date earlier, than the sixth century. The numbers in the plates are like (hose of the Eilere prakrit grant of Śźlańkāyana Vijayadēva. For the Telugu surnames of Mahēndra Pallava see M.E.R. 1909, p. 75.

CHAPTER X

THE VISHNUKUNDINS (ABOUT 350-610 A.D.)

Original Home

HARDLY had the Pallavas overthrown the last of the Śālankāyanas of Vēngi when a new power came from the west to succeed to the Śālankāyana heritage. This dynasty was the Vishoukundin, new to Vēngi but apparently not a stranger to Āndhra as its earliest associations were with Śri Śailam and as all its charters have been found in the Tolugu districts. A fresh impulse was given to the religious revival by the Vishoukundins, the proiégé of the Vākāṭakas who were in close touch with the classical renaissance in Northern India. With the entry of the Vishoukundins into Vēngi (about 460 a.c.), the Vākāṭaka power reached its grand climax and since the Guptas were related to the Väkāṭakas, the Gupta political and caltural influences were felt as far as the Krishna volley.

The earliest mention of the Vākātakas is in the inscriptions of Amarāvati of the second century a.b. As a dynasty of miers, the Vākātakas appear in the Central Provinces about the middle of the third century a.b. They rose after the decline of the Sātavāhana empire and began to expand south along the track of Ikshvāku progress when the Ikshvākus had declined. It was in Andhra west of the Ghats that the Vākātakas came into conflict with the Kadambas, and the Vishnukundins, when they appeared on the scene, were perhaps the palatine rulers of the Vākātaka empire in the south.

The Vishnukundins³ claim to belong to Trikūţa³ and Malaya and according to their earliest charter, lpūr copperplates II

^{*} For the Väkäjakas, see V. A. Smith in J.R.A.S. 1914, p. 317; Dubroull, Ancient History of the Decem; S. K. Iyengāc: The Vābātakay Issued as a supplement to his J.J.H. (Madras).

^{*} LA., vol. πii, p. 239 for the Vishnuvridha götra (a branch of the Bhāradwāja) of the Vākājakus. Vishnu also is a recognized götra. Vishnukundin is not in the extant götra list. The town of Vinukonda (Gunjūr disglet) is connected by some with Vishnukundin.

⁶ Küta is corrupted toto güdem as to Pullareddigüdem.

their capital was (Ama)rapura. These three places have been identified with Tagara, Mahendragiri (Gahjam district) and Amraotí (Central Provinces) respectively. But evidence is lacking for locating the dynasty originally in the Central Provinces. None of their inscriptions discovered so far belongs. to the Central Provinces. The third king of the Vishyukundins, the donor of the earliest grant Ipur II calls himself a devotee of the God of Sci Sailam, which is none other than the place of the same name in Kurnool district. The Vishnukundins had the lion-crest like the Kadambas. Their Trikuta and Malaya may be identified with places in the hilly Sri Sallam regions and (Ama)rapura may be only another place hard by. It is not unlikely that this dynasty temporarily expanded unto Amaraysti in the teeth of the opposition of the Pallayas. But, it was only for a very short time that the Vishnukundins held sway in the Amaravati region south of the Krishna as Pallaya supremacy over the district of Guntin was undoubted and undisputed in the reigns. of Kumäravishnu III and Skandavarman, son of Viravarman. Also the donor of the next grant Ipur I (found in Tenali taluk) refers to his capital as Trivaranagara (not (Ama)rapura) and makes a grant in the district of East Gödävari. Thus, it is possible that the Vishnukundins succeeded to the place of the Ikshvakas in the Sri Sailam region and they were found and retained as such by the Vakatakas who successfully fought with the Kadambas and rolled back the tide of their invasion. Though they were apparently unsuccessful in their first entry into the coastal region on account of strennous Pallava opposition, the Vishnukundins allied themselves by marriage with the Väkätakas and invaded and conquered the coastal region north of the Krishna (about 460 A.D.).

Genealogy

There are five copperplates of this dynasty which serve as the source of its history.² There are stray references to

The Ananda gotra claims to have belonged to Trikütaparvata, Triparvata was a Kadamba capital. J.R.A.S. 1905, p. 566 for Triküta. See Rice: Myserv und Croog, p. 24, for Kadamba lion crest.

^{* (}a) Ipür C.P. II, (Tetali talnk) E.I., vol. xvli, p. 337; M.E.K. 1920, p. 98

⁽b) Ipur C.P.1, E.L., vol. svii, p. 234; M.E.R. 1920, p. 98.

Mådhavavarman IV in a work on prosody known as Janásrayi (Janásraya was another name of Mådhavavarman IV)¹ and to another of the same name in a later inscription.²

The inscriptions have been arranged thus in paleographic order: lpur II, Ipur I, Ramatirtham, Chikkulla and Gödavari grants. Ipur II grant has:

Mathevararmon, asvamedhin and lord of many vassals son Devayarman, a powerful king

son Madhavavarman, a deverse of Sri Sailara, capital (Ama)rapuja

Ipur I grant supplies.

Govindavarman I, devotes of Sri Saitam
son
Madhavavarman, capital Trivaranagara
performed 1,000 agnishtomas
made a grant in East
Godavarl district.

The Madhavavarman of Ipur I cannot be identified with Madhavavarman II of Ipur II, as the latter was the son of Devavarman and had a different capital. Nor can be be identified with Madhavavarman I of Ipur II grant as the epigraphist places Ipur I later than Ipur II in point of time. Next come the three other plates, the dynastic lists in which it is not difficult to put in order.

⁽c) Rămatiribam C.P. (Vizianagram talnic), M.E.R. 1969, p. 110; E.J., vol. zii, p. 134; M.E.R. 1913-4, p. 102.

⁽d) Chikkulla C.P. (Teni (aluk), E.L., vol. iv, p. 193; M.E.R. 1920, p. 98.

⁽c) Gödövari C.P., M.E.K. 1914, p. 102, E. I. xviil. This grant also known as Pallmbürn was found together with one of the E. Chājukya Jayasimha I (633-66 A.D.) showing thereby that the Vishqukundic rule was closely followed by the Eastern Chājukyan. Ruden Sarron the dones of Jayasimha's C.P. was the son of Siva Sarron dones of Madhavu (V's C.P. and the son's ownership was confirmed by the new king.

⁽I) M.E.R. 1925-6, p. 3 a stone tos, at Velpuro, 12 miles west of Amara-vatl, which mentions Madhavavarman the Vishgukundin.

¹ Nitidmirhathika, ed. by V. Prabhākara Sāstri. Preface by M. Rāma-krisbpa kavi, p. xili (Madras, 1928).

^{*} M.E.R. 1961, p. 81, also 1910, p. 81, for a Madhavavarman's association with Bezwilda in tradition.

Rămatirtham C. F. Chikketta C. P. Gédavari C. P. Mādhavavarman, devotee of Sri Sailam, Mädhavavarman, Vikramendra-Md. a Vilkātaka, asvavargian. asyancedbin. mědhja, overland. son 801 Govindavarman. Vikramoudravorman, orsa-900 ment to both Vikramendravurman families. SUG ទបល់ Madhavavarman. 50G Indrubbagaraka, Indravarman, was victoconquered the warrior, conqueror of the East, ries in the east. Emst. eldest son Vikrameadsa.

Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham grant must be identified with Mādhavavarman of Ipār I copperplates. This king is the best known of the Vishqukundins as having married a Vākāṭaka princess and conquered the coastal region. Thus, we arrive at Mādhavavarman I

900 Deveyarman ROIL Madhayayarman II Governdayerman I BOD. Madhayayarman III, the first king of Vengl, SOR Vikrameadravarman 1 SOF lodenbhattöraka 800 Vikeamendravarman II HOLD Govindavaranan II. Mädhavavarman IV oligt Janäsrays. Chronology and Exents

There is no evidence for the statement that the Pallava was lord of Vengi when the Chalukya king Pulakesin II led an expedition into the Telugu country. Madhavavarman IV Vishoukupdin was the king of Vengi at the time and according to his Godavari plates, he was not confined to his kingdom but attempted to conquer the east, i.e., north of the Godavari. Dating the last year of the reign of Madhavavarman IV in about 610 A.D. and the starting year of the reign of Madhavavarman III (the conqueror of Vengi) in the kingdom of Vengi in about 460 A.D., i.e., sometime after the last Salankayana, we get

about 150 years for six kings. Mādhavavarman III is said to have married a Vākāṭaka princess probably in the reign of Praverasēna II the grandson of Chandragupta II of Magadha (ac. 380 a.n.). The Ipūr Plates I are dated in the 37th year of Mādhavavarman, the Rāmatirtham plates in the 27th year of Indrabhaṭṭāraka and the Gōdāvari or Pulimburu grant in the 48th year of the last Mādhava. So, three of the six Vishnukundina of Vēngi had long reigns.

The dynasty must have been founded at least four generations before Mådhavavarman III and Mådhavavarman I must therefore be assigned to the middle of the fourth century A.D. It is curious that the earliest Pallava emperor coincides in point of time with the earliest Ikshvaku emperor Chäntamüla, the asvamēdhin. The next asvamēdhin we hear of is the Sālankāyana Vijayadēvavarman. About three-quarters of a century later, just perhaps after Samudragupta's digvijaya, two more asvamēdhins appear in Mādhavavarman I of the Vishnukundins and Kumāravishņu I of the Pallavas.

Madhavayarman I Vishnukundin performed 'eleven asvamedha and other sacrifices' and had 'a number of vassals'. His son was the 'powerful' Devavarman. Devavarman's son was Madhavavarman II who from his residence at (Ama)rapara issued the Ipur piates II found in Tenali taluk. He rujed over Trikuta and Malaya and was a great devotee of the Siva of Sri Parvata. His reign lasted not less than (4) 7 years.

With the expansion of the Väkätakas, the Vishnukundins came to be prominent. From modern Berar, the Väkätakas expanded between 250 A.D. and 395 A.D. over the Decean as far as the Krishna. Prithvisēna I, the first to come South (ac. 350 A.D.) is said to have conquered Kuntala over which the Kadambas of Vanaväsi had extended their sway. He ruled long and his son was Rudrasēna II, son-in-law of Chandragupta II (395 A.D.). The reign of Prithvisēna I brought about the powerful relationship with the Vishnukundins. Pravarasēna II, son of Rudrasēna II, fürther strengthened the Vishnukundins by marriage and enabled them to expand towards the Coast.

A. S. W. I., vol. iv, pp. 53, 124 and 129.

^{*} From Kwatakerrara Danipam, it may be learnt that Chandragupta II extended his influence over the Decom through his devoted son-to-law. See Dr. S. K. Iyengar: The Vakatakos. Kuntala proper was Southern Maharashara and S. W. Hyderabad, though it was loosely used to designote the whole of the Decom. 305 A.D. is the date assigned by Dr. V. A. Smith to the marriage. J. R. A.S. 1914, p. 336. The date is accepted by Dr. Dubrenit.

The Vishoukundin Mādhava II was hitherto confined to his inland kingdom. Mādhava III, son of Gövinda I, donated from his camp at Kudāvāda, a village in Guddādi vishaya ' (East Gödāvarī district) round Drākshārāma, and he should have obviously extended his kingdom to the Coast. He performed II asvamēdhas and 1,000 agnishtomas. His capital was Trivaranagara and he was a devotee of the lord of Śri Parvata. The Chikkulla plates call him ' lord of many vassals ' and the husband of a Vākāṭaka. From his donation in the Gödāvarī district, it may be inferred that Mādhava III destroyed the Śālankāyana dynasty of Vēngi which had been, in all probability, superseded by the Pallavas under Simbavarman, son of Vishougōpa (about 450 A.p.).

Vikramendra I, son and successor of Mādhava III, was undisputed master of Vēngi. He was the ornament of both the families, the Vākāṭaka and the Vishņukundin. Vikramendra's son was Rājā Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the donor of the Rāmatirtham plates from Parāni saṅgama. Indra was a great warrior, conqueror of the east and distributor of large charities.

From the time of Indrabhattārāka, a keen struggle for supremacy took place between the Vishnukundins and the kings of Kalinga, which ended finally in the defeat of the former. But, Indrabhattārāka was successful against his foes as his grant was near Chipurpalle (B. N. Ry.)

Kalinga was united and powerful under its kings Chandravarman, Umäverman and Nandaprabhanjanavarman in the fifth century and a thorn on the side of the Vishaukundins and of the Śalanknyanas before them.² Indrabhattāraka was the first to carry the war into the enemy's country and expand up to or beyond Chipurpalle. The encounter between Indrabhattāraka and his foes is vividly described in the Gödávari plates of Prithvimula,³ a vassal of Kalinga. Indra of Kalinga formed a confederacy, according to Dr. Dubreuil, in which even Harisēna the Vākātaka joined and led his allies against Indra the

³ Jpffr C, P, I, Guddādi was also known as Guddavādi.

It is not likely that the Vishnukundins expanded from the region round Mahandeagiri southward as the Madres epigraphist suggests. This inference resis upon the identification of Malaya over which the donor of Ipūr II is said to have ruled. But he was a devotee of \$1 \$ailam and there is no reason why the place should be identified with any other than the place in Kuruool though Rümatirtham too is referred to as Saila in an ancient inscription on a scal found there.

J. B. B. K. A. S., vol. zvi, p. 116.

Visboukundin who put up a stiff fight against the mighty elephant forces of the North. Indrabhattaraka of Vēngi seems to have conquered as his Rāmatīrtham plates testify.

The Ajanta inscription of Harisena, the great grandson of Pravarasena II speaks of the conquest of Kuntala, Kalinga, Kösala, Andhra, etc. Harisena Vākātaka was a contemporary more or less of Vikramendra and Indrabbattaraka. The significance of the inscription should not be missed as it is clear from it that the Vākātākā was still the suzerain of the Decean though it is not clear if Harisena acted as an ally of Indra of Kalinga. The establishment of the Vishpukundins on the coast by the Väkätaka was to create a buffer state as it were with the twofold object of keeping in check the Pallava in the south and the kings of Kalinga in the north as Kadamba alliance had been secured by the marriage of Kadamba Ajittabhattarika and Narendrasena. son of Pravarasena II. This function of sentinel the Vishnukundins eminently fulfilled for two generations though they had to be warned of their subordinate position by Harisena. The assumption of the simple title of Raja after Madhava III is perhaps an indication of their subordinate position. When the last Vishnuhundin assumed the title of Mahārāja, external influences ceased to operate for a time over Andhra. The Vākātaka power had declined. The Guptas and the Maukharis boast of victory over the lord of the Andhrage who possessed thousands of rutting elephants but their influence passed away like that of the Väkäjakas, And Kalinga and Andhra againbecame independent sometime about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. But, Andhra independence was shortlived, asthe Chājukyan expansion had already begun in the west to sweep her into the net later on.

The son of Indrabhattāraka was Vikramēndra [] 'embellished with all royal virtues in childhood'. He granted the village of Regonram on the Krishna to a temple of Siva. Two more generations of kings are supplied by the Gödävari plates. Their donor Mādhava, son of Gövinda, also known as Japāsraya,

⁴ E. I., vol. ix, p. 268.

Gupța inscriptions, p. 228; E.I. siv, p. 110; I.A. xivi, p. 125.

It is not possible to identify this Govinda with the Govinda of Ipgr I C.P. whose son had his capital of Trivaranagara. The Epigeaphist considers the Godfvani C.P. as the latest palmographically. Again, Janussaya is a special surname of Madhava IV and it is not found in any other C.P.

crossed the Gödävari to conquer the east and made a grant in Guddavädi Vishaya. In other words, he had to defend himself against the aggressive king of Kaiioga. For, already in the time of Indrabhatṭāraka, the Vishnakuṇḍiu empire extended up to Chipurpalle or about that region.

Their Capital and Coins

The capital of the Vishnukundina was Lenduluru near the famous Vēngi, the capital of the Śālankāyanas. There are now extensive ruins on the sites of ancient Vēngi and Lenduluru. Right miles north of Ellore there are the hamlets of Peddavēgi and Chinnavēgi removed from each other by haif a mile and five miles to the north is Dendalüru, once Lendulüru with a number of villages round it. There are now a large number of Siva temples in ruins and extensive mounds.

Coins with the lion and vase attributed to the Vishnukundins have been found in the district of Vizagapatnam. Some of their seals exhibit the lion. The lion and vase motifs (so profusely found at Amaravati) in some of the rock-cut caves at Undavalli and Mogalrajapuram are also noteworthy. Dr. Dubreuit places these and similar caves at Sitanagram and Bezwada in the age of the Vishnukundins.

The devotion of this dynasty to the lord of Sri Sailam is repeatedly mentioned in the copperplates and is but one of the many indications of a rapid Brahminical revival under royal patronage. The shrine referred to is that of the famous Mallikarjuna rearing its boary head off the Buddhist Parvata sanctified by Nagarjuna.

¹ [6, J. Kapson. Indian Coins (vol. iii, Eucy. of Indo-Aryan research), also Dubraui); A. H. of the Deccan, p. 93; also V. A. Smith: E. H. of India Pate, coin No. 16.

² M. E. R. 1909; E. A. vol. (v. p. 195; vol. xil, p. 133.

These temples have a simple plan in origin. They are out out of the lace of a rock and contain a cell and a porch the latter supported on pillars. Plenty of this type are found in Dravida or Tamilaham and they are attributed to Mahendra I Pallava. So the Vishnukundin style was the same as the Early Pallava style. The Madrus Anchorological Department considers tissee early Andhra rock-cut temples as Pallava. Curiously the Madrus Epigraphist (M.E.R. 1909, p. 74), thinks that they belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. The cell, balls, etc. of Undavalli are similar to the early Orissan cave style and remind us of the Euddhist opech. Undavalled they are pro-Chālpskyan as the E. Chālpskyas made no rock-cut temples, says the Epigraphist.



GENERAL VIEW OF LAVE TRACES, UNIVERSELY, GOVERN DE.





CHAPTER X1

THE KINGS OF KALINGA

The extent of Kalinga has varied between the mouths of the Ganges and the Gödävari from time to time. Originally Dravidian as far as Tamuluk, Kalinga was more rapidly Aryanized than Andhra. Kalinga seems to have been always divided among three or more kings from before the time of the Jätaka stories. In course of time, the name came to be appropriated by the present South Ganjam and Vizagapatnam districts, more or less. According to Hinen-Tsang Kalinga was south-west of Konyodha' (the present North Ganjam District). But in later inscriptions, Bhogapuram and Yellamanchili in the Vizagapatnam district were included in Kalinga.² The Odras appear to have seized the northern parts of Kalinga before the time of Hinen-Tsang, driving the Kalinga Rajas south into the northernmost outpost of the Telugu country in Vizagapatnam and a bit of Ganjam district.

There is no evidence to show the condition of Kalinga after Sātavāhana rule. No trace of Ikshvāku rule has been found in the country north of the Gödāvari down the Ghata. Nor is there any relie of Pallava rule in the area, though the names of some of the Kalinga kings, Chandravarman and Nandaprahhanjavarman (5th century A.n.) resemble Pallava names and they called themselves pilribhahtar like the Pallavas and the Sālahkāyanas. Indeed, from the earlier evidence of the Jātakas, the Rājas of Kalinga may be said to have had the flag with the ball emblem and belonged to the Bhāradwāja Götra. But, the data are quite insufficient to venture any conclusion on the point.

The veil is lifted by the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century A.D. The diguifaya before the asvamedha would not be complete if the southern direction were left out. In the Deccan there was no

E.J., vol. vl, p. 136.

M.E.R. 1909, pp. 105, 108; E.L., vol. xii, p. 212.

Jafakas traus. Ed. by Cowell, vol. iii, No. 301 and iv, No. 479.

strong and united empire in the middle of the fourth century A.D. There was no king so powerful, as Gautamiputra Śātakarni or the later Puļakēšin II. The Kadambas had not yet risen. Perhaps the Vākāṭakas had not yet begun to expand southward as the first to do so was Prithvisēna I whose son married the daughter of Chandra Gupta II.

Some of the places and kings of Dakshināpatha contained in the Allahabad inscription have not yet been identified. The great Emperor is said to have captured and liberated (1) Mahēndra of Kosala, (2) Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, (3) Mantarāja of Kaurāla, (4) Mahēndra of Paishtāpura, (5) Svāmidatta of Kauttura on the hill, (6) Damana of Airaņdapalla, (7) Vishnugōpa of Kāūchi, (8) Nīlaraja of Āvamukta, (9) Ugrasena of Palakka, (10) Hastivarman of Vēngi, (11) Kubēra of Dēvarāshtra, (12) Dhanaājaya of Kusthalapura and all the other kings of the region of the south.

Whether it was a more funeral pration, of the court poet Hardsena glorifying his lord in the usual style, none has ventured to suggest. And even if it were such, there was nothing to prevent him from mentioning all the kings who actually ruled in the Deccan; but it is doubtful if a panegyric would have omitted the kings of the Western Decean out of the list, specially when there was no mighty monarch there. According to Dr. Dubreuil. all the states of the Decean in the Allahabad inscription belonged to the East Deccan as Airspdapalla? (Amudāļavalasa B.N.Ry.) and Dövaräshtra? were in Gañjam and Vizagapatnam districts according to later inscriptions. But the states are not found in the inscription in any geographical order. Samudragupta's march across W. Deccan would give a completeness to his expedition and the location of five kings between the Mahanadi and the Gödävari, three of them so near one another was not so likely.

Next to Mantaraja of Kautala which has been identified with the lower valley of the Mahanadi is mentioned the king of Pithapuram, Mahandra by name. 'Paithlapurakamakendragiri Kautturakasyamidetta' has to be split into Mahandra of

¹ The inscription is not posthumous, says V. A. Smith who quotee Dr. Buhler, J.R.A.S. 1898, p. 388.

[≥] E. f., vot, xii, p. 212.

³ M.E.R. 1909-9, p. 100.

Pithāpuram and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūru on the hill.¹ Koṭṭūru is about 11 miles from Parlākimedi and has some ancient remains. So between the Gödāvari and the Mnhānadi were two states with their capitals at Pithāpuram and Koṭtūru. Between the Gödāvari and the Krishņa was the kingdom of Vēngi then ruled by Hastivarman. South of the Krishņa were Ugrasēna of Palakka (Palakkada, Nellore District) and Vishņugōpa of Kāūchi. Nilarāja of Avamukta² is unidentified, while, Kubēra of Dēvarāshtra and Damāna³ of Airaņḍapalla may be identified as kings of Mahārāshīra and Kandesh respectively. Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura is again unidentified.

Samudraganta had a triumphant progress through the Deccan. after which he celebrated the asvamedha. True it is, however, that the Empire of Samudragupta did not comprise the Decean, but that is beside the point for a diguifaya before a horse sacrtfice. Raghu is said to have desired victory only for the sake of justice and took possession of no land. Samudragupta had no peer in the land from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and was a true Samuat. The Hindustan and Deccan were in disintegration. His expedition seems to have led on to two alliances as far as we know, one with the Vakataka in his son's reign and another perhaps with the king of Pithapuram even in his own time. In all probability, these were the two states in the Emperor's opinion which had a glorious future. The later Väkätaka-Vishnukundin alliance brought the south within the aphere of Gupta culture. The Pallava seems to have been paralysed after this time and this led to the rise of the Kadambas and to the revival of Chola power. The use of the Gupta era* in Gañjam as late as the seventh century is reminiscent of earlier Gupta political sway and likewise the phrase 'ornament of the

Another interpretation is that Svämidatta was king of Pithäpuram and Mahendragiri Kottüru. The Rayhnbumu places the capital of Kalinga near the coast. So the question of identifying Kottüru (there is one on the coast also) teems with difficulties. According to the poem Kalinga was very powerful and Mahendragiri was in Kalinga. According to the inscription Kalinga was divided. If Mahendra was ford as far as Kottüru in Parlikitundi where are we to locate the kings of Airandapolla and Davarashtra?

^{*} See an interesting more on Avain Andhra in J. B.O. R.S., vol. xiv, pt. i, p. 150.

⁵ A familiar ending in the same of the Saka satraps of the Rudradāman

^{*} E.L. vol. vi, p. 143.

Magadha family in Saktivarman's copperplate. A curious vestige of Samudra's invasion along the coast is a gold coin of the Emperor found in Sanghārāma.

It is a relief to find a supreme lord of Kalinga in Väsistiputra Saktivarman whose Rägiolu plates are in early southern alphabet and were issued from Pithäpuram. The grant was made in Kalinga Vishaya. Much importance need not be attached to the word Vishaya though it is undoubted that Saktivarman ruled over a larger area than Kalinga. He is said to have been an ornament of the Magadha family. Perhaps he was related to the Guptas. The surname of Väsishtiputra has not been found outside the Ändhra and Ikshväku dynasties. Whether Šaktivarman was in any way related to Mahöndra of Pithäpuram or Svämidatta of Kottüru is not known but he was the Mahäräja of Kalinga. Nor is it possible to say why he was called the ornament of the Magadha family.

In the fifth century, a new dynasty attains pre-emineace over Kalinga. It is represented by Chandravarman, Umāvarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman. They have no metronymic like Saktivarman, call themselves pitribhaktas, the phraseology of the plates is the same and therefore they might have belonged to the same dynasty. They do not call themselves Gangas or date their charters in any era. Nandaprabhañjanavarman² had his capital at Sārēpalle (near Vizianagaram). As his name indicates, he must have fought hard with Vākāṭaka expansion on the west, and the dynasty of Saktivarman on the south. The capital of Chandravarman, and Umāvarman³ was Simhapura, modern Singavarman near Chicacole. All the three were Mahāṣājas of Kalinga who must be dated sometime after Saktivarman and before Indra the Vishnukundin.

The last stray king we come across in the early history of Kalinga is Rāja Indra whose vassal Rāja Prithvimūla" (son of Prabhākara who ruled from Kandāli) has issued the Gödāvari plates. Indra Ādhirāja, son of Mitavarman, ruled from Manalkudi" and was the great foe of Indrabhaṭṭāraka the Vishnukundin

Modern Räkuluva in Gaŭjam district E.I., vol. zil, p. 1.

³ L.A., vol. ziši, p. 48.

⁵ There is another in Porlakimed Taluk,

E.I., vol. iv, p. 143.

E.I., vol. xii, p. 4.

^{*} J.E. B.R. A.S., vol. xvl, p. 114; J.A., vol. x, p. 244.

The name sounds Tamil.

according to the inscription. While the Salankayanas rarely bestirred themselves out of their kingdom, the Vishnukundins came into conflict with the kings of Kalinga in their coastal expansion. It was during the spread of Vishnukundin sway along the Gödävari that the dynasty of Pithäpuram was overthrown. The expansion of the Vishnukundins took rapid strides under Indrabhattäraka who waged a fierce war with Indra of Kalinga. Though the victory is claimed by the Raia of Kalinga. the Vishaukundin seems to have really won in the war. For, his Ramatirtham grant proves it very clearly. The Vishnukundin-Kalinga hostilities continued till the next reign after Indeabattāraka. Harisēna Vākātaka, a contemporary of Indrabhattāraka, claims conquest of Andhra and Kalinga thereby showing that he was overlord of the Deccan. Hariscna's dynasty began After Indrabhaţţūraka, the Vishuuto decline with his death. kundins were on the path of decline.

It was sometime about this epoch of Viikātaka-Vishgukundin decline that the Ganga dynasty was founded together with the Ganga era. The Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta? represent the beginnings of Ganga rule as founded on the destruction of the sway of Bălāditya (ac. 467 a.D.). But how far this late story may be believed we cannot say, as there is no record of Gupta rule in Kalinga.3 So also, the view that the Ganga era began sometime after Samudragupta's invasion is equally wrong as none of the fifth century Kalinga inscriptions is dated in an eraand as neither Chandra nor Uma nor Nanda calls himself a Ganga. And the earliest Ganga inscriptions dated in the Ganga. era do not afford any scope for a fourth century datum for the beginning of the dynasty. Therefore, the Ganga era was founded just after the decline of Väkätaka power in the Decean. and the Vishnukundin rule in Kalinga, i.e., sometime after the year 27 of Indrubbattaraka, about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

³ Dr. Fleet held that the Adhirāja Indra (of Majalkudi) was the first or second Mahūrāja Indravarman of the Gaiga dynasty of Kalinganagara. His for was, according to him, Indrabhaṭrāruka the Rasleria Chāļukyu (665 A.D.). But, Dr. Dubrecil on valid grounds identifies the latter with the Vishnukundin of the same came. See Bombay Caccileer, vol. 1, pt. ii, p. 334.

^{*} E.J., vol. iv, p. 185.

³ Samudragupta also perhaps was called Ralliditys, p. 347, V. A. Smith (1924).

There is no sure foundation for the view that the Gangas of Kalinga were descended from the Gangas of Mysore. There are two charters of the early Ganga kings one of the 80th year of Hastivarman allas Ranabhita Rajasimha, Lord of Katinga, a pitribhakta and a devotee of Gökarna and the other of Indravarman allas Rajasimha, dated in the 87th year, a pitribhakta, devotee of Gökarna, an Adhirāja and a great victor. Both are styled as the founders of the family of the Gangas, though as a matter of fact, the family or the era of the family had been founded 80 years before Hastivarman's grant.

Hastivarman issued its grant from Kalinganagara 'comfortable in all seasons'. He acquired sovereignty over the whole country by wielding his sharp aword. That Indravarman was the successor of Hastivarman is proved in two ways: (1) the former dates his grant in the 87th year while the latter dates his in the 80th year, (2) the two edicts were written by the same Vinsyachandra, son of Bhanuchandra. The boast of Hastivarman and Indravarman of founding the Gangas may mean only the

Rice: Mysore and Coneg, p. 30. The Gangas were so called after the river. The Gangar idae Colingue of Pluy may contain a clue to the early babbut of the Gangas. In some inscriptions they call themselves Yadavas and in some Ikshvakus. I.A., vol. xviii, p. 165; E.C. inscriptions from Humchs, Parala and Kalber-Gudda.

Praturdhamana Vijapa Reira Sammatanara in earlier Kalcaga saseriptions on which Mr. Kämadös relies for duting the Goigo eranbout 350 a.p. is found in the Pedda Vegt C.P. of the Salankäyanns: See $J_*R_*O_*R_*S_*$ vol. ix, p. 303, for his atticle on the Ganga era. See E.L. vol. xvii, p. 330, for Hastivorman's Inscription. The view of Mr. Subba Rao, R., of Rajabmundry, $\{Q.J.A.H.R.S.$, vol. ii, p. 146), that the Ganga eta began about 450 a.b. is equally statemable. According to his view Indravarman of Achyntapuram and other plates has to be assigned to about \$40 A.p. He was the Adhiraja Indra contemporary of the Vishaukundin Indra Bhattaraka. But, the Vishpukundins were still very powerful even over parts of Kalinga. And Yasotharman of Malwa claims conquest up to Maheadra in about 528 a.o. Secondly, if Indravarious was the same as Indra of Prithvimule's places then Indravarmen successor and (perhaps son also) of Hastivarman of Kali aganagara must be put as the son of Mitavariana of Manathudi which is an absurd proposition. It is clear then that the Vishnekundin Indea must have fought with some other India of Kalinga, a predecessor of the great Indravarman. Perhaps he it was that founded the era after Indra the Vishoukundin's death. It is possible that Indra the founder of the era was the same as the donor of the Jitfingi plates Q.J.A.H.R.S., iii, p. 49. Some time after him came Hastivarman and his successor Indravarman. A. E. J., vot. 121, p. 127.

strengthening of the foundations already laid. The great enemy of Hastivarman and Indravarman was the eastern Chājukya on the southern frontier. Within fifty years after the rise of the Gangas, the whole Deccan was shaken by the tempest of Chälukyan invasion. Kalinga escaped being annexed but struggled continuously for independence with Konyodha under Harsbavardhana (a strong military outpost on one side) and with the eastern Chalukyas of Vengi on the other. Speaking of Konyodha which extended from the hills of the coast Hinen-Tsang remarks that its towns were strong, there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe and there was no powerful enemy. Hiuen-Tsang's life mentions the expedition of Harsha to Konyodha which might have been the south-eastern military outpost of Harsha's empire. Pulakesin apparently could not dislodge him from it though he claimed victory over Kalinga and Kösala.

Indravarman was also donor of the Tekkali (87 year) and Parläkimedi plates.4 By the power of his sword he acquired Adhirājya and established the Gangas. In other words, he and his predecessor also must have given a decisive set back to the advance of the Eastern Chalukyas who seem to have expanded at first as far as Chipurpalle. The wars which the Gangas had to wage decimated the population of Kalinga besides natural calamities to such an extent that Higen-Tsane was sailly impressed with it. The frontier of Harshavardhana on the coast did not extend south of Northern Ganjam district, due to the mighty efforts of the Gangas of Kalinga, Rising with the Chālukvas, the Eastern Gangas continued to rule for more than 500 years eternally warring with their southern and northern neighbours. During the long rule of these devotees. of Gokarnësvara. Brahminical religion was rehabilitated and re-established and Buddhism and Jainism became past memories.

^{*} I.A., vol. avi, p. 131—91 Yr. written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhann-chandra. There is another indrawarman, perhaps the grandson of the donor of the above three plates. The former has issued the Chleacole Grant in the year 128 and from the inscription we may learn that he was not so great as his grandfather. The Chicacole plates were written by Aditya son of Vinayachandra.

CHAPTER XII

THE EXPANSION OF THE CHÂLUKYAS

THE curtain drops with the entrance of the Chalukyas into Andhra. No power since the Satavahanas had held sway from sea to sea as the Chālukyas in the seventh century A.D. Andhra had been dismembered by the Ikshvakus and the Pallavas, the former giving way to the Salankayanas and the Vishoukundins in turn. The Kadambas had many a side thrust in Andhra along the coast and expanded into Andhra west of the Ghats till they were pushed back by the Väkätakas. The Väkätakas once held a part of Andhra through their vassals the Vishoukundins. But, more enduring than Pallava and Väkätaka rule was the Chālukyan. The beginning of Telugu literature which, in course of time, was bound to integrate all the diverse factors and give a unity to Andhra can be distinctly traced in the Chāļukyan period. Some of their earliest grants refer to Brahmlus well versed in all ancient books and to a ghatita or college of learning at Asanapura.4 The cultural contact between Karnita and Maharashtra on the one hand and Andhra on the other snapped asunder after the Satavahana rule was restored under the negis of the Chalukyas of Badami who rose to be the unquestioned masters of the Decean. The swelling tide of Brahminism and Puranic Hinduism rolled over the land under the aegis of the Chāļukyan monarchs. Kumārila paved the way for the triumphant progress of Sankara. The usual story is told of this terror of Buddhism and Jainism, a son of Kalinga, how he was once a Buddhist, then converted with himself the king of the land and aided the persecution of the unvedic religions. This late story in Madhava's Sankara Vijaya may not be wholly credible, but it is sufficient to establish that the un-Brahminical religions had already lost support and fallen on evil days.2 The acme of political greatness was reached when the ancient home

¹ Chipurpalle C.P. and a grant of Jayasimba I, M.E.R. 1917, p. 115; E.J., vol. aviii, p. 55.

J.B.B.R.A.S., vol. xviii.

of the Pallava in Nellore and Guntur districts was usurped and when hard blows were dealt to the rising Gangas on the other side of Chipurpalle.

Origin

Much credence need not be given to the northern origin of the Chājukyas.1 Some scholars see in the Chājukyas the Tamil Vēlira a chief of which was Ay Andiran of Podival. The Chālukvan metronymic Hāritiputra reminds us of the Kadambas. and the Satavahanas. The Chalukyas and the Kadambas not only belong to the same Manavya gotra but also claim to have been nourished by the 'seven mothers'. The name Chāļukya has no proper Sanskrit root, the story of the Chālukyan origin from Chuluka being of a later origin.3 The 'Chaliki' in the Nagarjanakonda inscriptions of the third century a.o. shifts back the age of the Châlukyas in the Decean to a period far anterior to that of their supposed migration from the north. Again, there is a reference by Ptolemy to a tribe the Salckenoi not far from Maisolia which may afford a clue to the existence of the Chāļukyas (also called Saļukki, Chaļiki, etc.) in the Deccaa from still earlier times.

History

The Chālukyas get into prominence under Pulakēšin I (550 A.D.) an ašvamēdhia. His capital was Vātāpi or Bādāmi in the Bijapur district. He must have raised the fabric of his power over the destruction of the Kadambas who ruled from Hālsi. His two sons Kirtivarman and Mangalēsa spread the sway of the dynasty. The Mahākāta inscription credits him with victories in Vanga and Anga, Kulinga, Mūshaka, Pāndya, Dramila, Aḥuka, Vaijayanti, etc. According to the Aihole inscription (634 A.D.) he was 'a night of death' to the Nalas, the Mauryas (of Konkan) and the Kadambas. The upshot of the prafasti is clear. Kirtivarman was a great conqueror and drove out the old dynasties, ushering in the new supremacy. Mangalēsa

Rice, Mysore and Courg, pp. 51-3. I.A., vol. III, p. 305; vol. vi, p. 363; vol. x, p. 58; J.B.B.M.S., vol. x, p. 348.

² M. Raghava Iyengar: Velir Varalaro (Tamil).

² Rive, Mysore and Coorg, pp. 15, 23, 61-4.

⁴ I.A., vol. xix, pp. 7-15. Andhra is not in the list. E.I., vol. vi, p. 1.

(ac. 597 A.D.) proved a worthy successor to Kirtivarman I, as he added to his conquests by the defeat of the Kālachūris. When he resolved to usurp the kingdom for his own son and thus keep out Pulakēšin the son of his brother Kirtivarman, he lost both his kingdom and his life to his illustrious aephew.

Pujakēšin II ascended the throne in 609 A.M., began a career of expansion, and was cut off in full meridian of glory by death at the hands of his deadliest foe, the Pallava. Even then, he could boast of the lordship over the Deccan limited by the Vindhyas (beyond which he repulsed Harshavardhana') and by the Pallava to the South whom he vanquished and kept at bay many a time. The Kadambas and Gangas were routed. Maharashtra and Late howed to the inevitable. Kalinga and Kosala were defeated.3 Pithäpuram tossed between the Vishmukuodins and the Rajas of Kalinga was captured. A terrible fight took place on the Kolleru, very near the seat of Andhra power. The Pallava hid himself behind the walls of Käñchi laying his home dominion at the feet of the conquering hero." There are no grounds for assuming that the Pallava was the ruler of the Krishna-Gödávari dogb though it is just possible, as already stated, that the Salankayanas and their successors the Vishnukundina were affiliated to the Pallava group of kings.

One of the poems of Mayora credits Harsha with the conquest of the south, p. 234. The Poems of Mayora by Quackenbes [Colombia Univ. vol. bt]. This fact is apparently confirmed by an epigraph in Mysore which has "when Situditya came conquering and Mahendra ded in fear". See p. 83, Mysore Arch. Rep. 1923; J. R. A. S. 1926. Hisson Tsang says that only Mahinfieldra was not conquered by Harsha. So it is possible that Harsha led an expedition into the south imitating Samudragupta and the Great Mauryas but met with a fate different from theirs. In continuation of the policy of expelling Harsha, Pulakésia must have conquered and strong thesed his weak frontiers especially in Kalinga in the east where Harsha seems to have had a strong military outpost.

They are said to have 'effected the humbitug of the pride of other kings' in the Athole inscription. The same record has it that Pulaketin 'dismissed the subjugated Kings with honor' which resembles the purase 'captured and liberated' of Samudragupta's hascription but is not true as the Kopparam plates of Pulaketin II (611 A.D.) in Gunțăr district testify unless it is assumed that Andhra had been conquered before Pulaketin II which is not possible as Andhra does not figure in Kirtivarman's list of conquests.

M.E.R. 1909, p. 75—Mahen@ra's Tojugu birudas.

In 609 or 610 A.b.! Kubja Vishnavardhana, the brother of Pulakëšin II, was made viceroy of the Telugu country along the coast.² His first capital was perhaps l'ithápuram from which he dates his Chipurpalle grant.² His Chipurpalle copperplates⁴ prove the extension of his power as far as that place, while the mention of Vishamasiddhi in an inscription at Chējvāla⁵ and of places in the Guntōr district in a grant of Jayasimha l⁴ raises the presumption that the Eastern Chāļukyan rule extended over the Guntōr district. Later inscriptions speak of Kubja Vishawardhana's kingdom as Vēngi. The independent dynasty founded by this prince in or about 618 A.b. dourished for more than four and a half centuries till it merged into the Chōla during which long epoch Āndhra came to her own and took rapid strides in cuitaral advancement. Bhūravi, ⁷ a great Saiva

¹ The date for the beginning of Vishquentidada's rule has been calculated from the data supplied by the Eastern and Western Chāṭukyan inscriptions. See Fleet: J. H., vol., vx., f ft.

"The Koppistam plates of Polakesia II in Guntur district in 611 a.n. clearly prove that Chāļukyati rule was well established in Andhra by the date white Dr. Fleet stated that Chāļukyatı rule was established before 612 a.n. Dr. V. A. Stulth went further and fixed it in 609 a.n. or so. From his Satara C. P. it may be learnt that Kubja was Yavaraja till 618 a.n. the date of that grant. The duration of the reigns of the E. Chāļukyan kings is given in their charters and in some of them the saka date is given. To take one instance Amras II (I.A., vols. xix, p. 102; xx, p. 23] ascended the through 868 saka and roughly 338 years had passed since the accession of Kubja. So Kubja became ruler in about 608 or 609 a.n. A copperplate of Pulakesia II dated 535 saka rufers to his victories over hostlie Kings. (I.A., vol. vi. p. 77).

According to Histor-Tsong Pingchilo was the capital of Andera which has been generally identified with Vengt. Later Bastern Chälukyan jaserlptions refer to Vishquvardhana as of Vengt. Dandin locates the Andhra capital somewhere there.

* I.A., vol. xx, pp. 3, 15; see also E.I., vol. iv, p. 317, for Thompopuram. C. P. an early Eastern Chāhikyan inscription (from Sarvasiddhi tajuk, Vizagapanasta district, which mentions l'ithápuram as capital. M. E. R. 1908, p. 60). I.A., vol. xx, p. 97, for Jayasimha's kingdom extending to Udaya Pura, Nellore district. The separate mention of Pithápuram in the Aihole inscription and references to it as a capital city elsewhere show that there was a separate kingdom believen the Godavari and Kalinga proper.

M.E.R. 1917; S.I.I., vol. vi, 154/2 of 1869.

* E.I., vol. xviii, p. 55; and the Kopparam C.P. of Pulakëšio II in A.B.O.R.I., Poona, vol. iv, part i.

Avanthundarikatha, See Q.J.M.S., vol. 80, p. 10; and suramary of papers of the Bourth Orien. Conference, p. 44.

and suthor of *Kirdiarjuniya*, was patronised by Vishnuvardhana, The rich and fertile soil and abundant crops of the Ándhra country noticed by Hiuch-Tsang supported a large population and maintained a flourishing commerce. A keen observer as he was the pilgrim notes the emotional nature of the inhabitants and their love for arts which have earned for the Āndhra a niche in the temple of Indian History and have survived to this day.

The genealogy of the early Chālokya rulers is gathered from their inscriptions and from some of the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālokyas of Vēngi. An approximate chronology may be worked out from them.

In 611 A.D.

We may thus sum up the political situation of the Deccan in 611 A.D. The Chālukyas were the only big power in the Decean occupying it from sea to sea and between the Vindhyas and the Tungabbadra with an uncertain border on the Pallava side. The independence of the Gangas of Kalinga was ever threatened. by the Eastern Chalukyas whose martial enthusiasm could only be quenched by the provergial '103 battles with the Ganga and the Retta". But the Ganges could not be shaken out of their kingdom. The Chāļukyas had already overthrown the Kadambas and the Gangas of Mysore in the reign of Polakësin I from their base and capital Bādāmi. The Kadamba power which held its enemies at bay for wellnigh two centuries and boasted of imperial marriage alliances had spent itself out. The Gangas of Mysore, hedged in between the expanding Kadambas and the ambitions Pallavas had to consent to be crowned by their Pallava masters and submit their crowns to the rising Chalukyan power. The Vakajakas once expanding as far as Ajanta and absorbing parts of Kuataja withdrew into their mountain fastness after leaving some of the finest memorials. of art and are heard of no more. Their protegé and feudatory. the Vishnukundins cured for a time of their refractoriness by the hard blows of Harisena, pushed out of their northern extension by the sturdy and puzzling Gangas and kept within narrow limits by the Pallavas, assumed the title of Mahārāja, only to lose it in the surging wave of the new supremacy.

The digrejjaya of Pulakëšin II, so beautifully described by Ravikirti, was but the culmination of the efforts of his predecessors. In the whole of the Deccan and South India, only two powers were left, the Pallava and the Chāļukya, even the Empire of the former being overrun by the latter. The old big dynastics had become small and the ancient obscure houses obscurer. We no longer hear for two centuries of the independent Tamil kingdoms except as vassais among whom the Pāṇḍya played Mrs. Partington to the ocean of Pallava fame. We read hereafter of the Gangas and the Kadambas only by the side of the Chāļukyas bearing their arms in war and distributing their charities in peace. The Āndhras and Āndhra-bhrityas had become historic dynasties, the Vākāṭakas and the Vishnukuṇḍins moribund.

According to legend, the Chālukya rose into prominence at the expense of the Pallava. The glory of the two 'natural enemies' would not have shed so much lustre without the shedding of blood. In fact, the Pallava-Chālukya rivalry was a priceless legacy from Mukkanti Kāduveţti whose traditional fight with the invading Vijayāditya for his hearth and home in the modern Ceded Districts ran in the blood of his descendants. But, neither could subdue the other completely though each carried the war into the heart of the other's capital. And both were exhausted by about the middle of the eighth century, the Chālukya falling a prey to the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pallava heing worn out by the incessant conflicts and machinations of the Pāṇḍyas.

CHAPTER XIII

ANDHRA CULTURE ABROAD

Rivers and Coastline

THE history of the commercial and colonial activities of the Andhras reads like a romance. With an extensive sea-board stretching from Kalingapatnam to Pulicat, Andhradesa had convenient and profitable facilities for adventure and foreign commerce. Communication by sea was easier in those days when the land, specially north of the Gödävari, was not yet denuded of forests and when heavy goods could be carried with less facility along the few good roads than by sea.

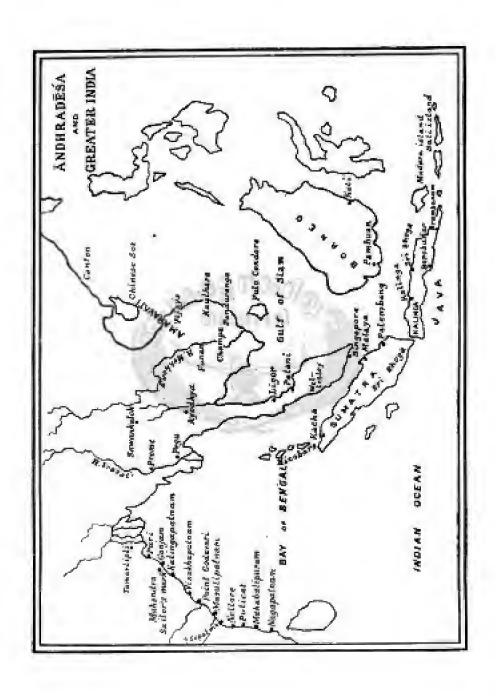
The Vamsadhāra, the Gödāvari, the Krishna and the Pinākini (N. Pennār) offered safe anchorage for the vessels of those days and were navigable up to a certain point. The two bigger rivers served as highways of commercial and passenger traffic throughout the Āndhra Empire. In the age of the Pariphus of the Erythram Sea (about 80 A.D.) and the Geography of Ptolemy (about 140 A.D.), ships are said to have sailed eastward from the mouths of the Krishna and the Gödāvari. Pliny (about 80 A.D.) remarks that ships assembled near the mouth of the Gödāvari and then sailed up to the places on the Ganges.

Badowed with these arteries of communication, the Andhras ventured early enough into the wider and more stormy regions of the salty deep. The people living along the coast and on the banks of the big rivers accustomed to navigation from childhood and bred up as fishermen to eke out their livelihood took risks in their distant fishing voyages, when storms, a common enemy of mariners but the best ally of discoverers, would land them at times in strange countries. Sometimes thus by chance and sometimes by design, actuated by love to brave the perils or by curlosity to see strange lands or by the desire to reach El Dorade, the stout hearts of old constantly put out to sea to discover new lands and opened the way to foreign commerce.

Schoff: The Periples of the Erythrean Sea, p. 46. Geriol: Researches on Ptolomy's Geography, p. 743.







Colonization followed commerce and culture flowed in the wake of colonization. Added to this native enthusiasm was the stimulus of western traders who swarmed the coast of India for sharing in her valuable trade and of the enterprising paramas and others, who seem to have advanced by land as far as Āndhra and influenced her economic and cultural history. According to Col. Gerini, there were Dravidian colonists in Burna as early as the seventh century a.c. The earliest traditions in Greater India connect the beginnings of its civilisation with the Gödävari-Krishna deltas. Two kinds of vessels were noted by the author of the periphus, one for coasting, and the other for overseas, voyages, the latter being naturally bigger and stronger.

The rivers of Andhra, while facilitating internal and external communication, have also fertilised the land by bringing rich deposits of alluvium from the hills and by raising the level of the plains and rendering them thereby fit for cultivation. For, before exchange could begin, there must be goods to be exchanged. The products of the forests, the fields, the looms and the mines which formed the chief items of merchandise from Andhra required a large measure of civilisation for their manufacture.²

Andhra commerce ancient

The inscriptions of Bhattiproin point to the high level of economic progress reached by Andhra. Andhra was famous for its weaving according to the Bhimasena Jalaka. The Periplus reiers to the large stores of ordinary cottons, many sorts of mustins and mallow-colored cottons in the markets of Tagara and Paithan whither they were carried by boats, carts or pack bullocks from Maisolos (the present Krishna and Gödävari districts). The land traffic grew in volume after the establishment of the Sätavähana Empire as the goods destined to the

⁵ The Sakas, Pahinvas and Yavenes seem to have crossed the high seasfrom the sushaland and planted their rule in Further India. For Dravidian Colonists of Burnes, see Gerial, pp. 29-30.

² For the mines of Andhra see Sewell: Lists of Antiquities in the Madras Presidency (Madras, 1882), vol. t, p. 45, 63 f.n. Krishus District Mountal, pp. 169, 202, 222, 237. The diamond mines of Pantiyala, the copper mines of Viunkonda, the load mines of Painail, the mastle quarries of Painail and Sattenpalle were worked in early times.

See the Chapter on the monuments of Andhra.

Cowell: Traus,
 Schoff, pp. 51, 62,

western countries were despatched more safely, cheaply and speedily across the Deccan than by the distant sea route doubling Cape Comorin. And goods intended for Ujjain and further caravan trade were also sent to Paithan which occupied a position of commercial as well as strategic vantage. Masülipatnam and Sopatma not far from it, are the only two Andhra ports montioned by the Pariphus, if we leave out Podouke which only Lassen and Yule have identified with Pulicat.

Ptolemy is more informing about the economic history of Andhra. The mouth of the Pinakini, Manarpha,2 Kottis,3 the mouth of the Krishna,* Konta Kossyla, Koddura," Allosgyne? the point of departure for Chryse are some of the ports and marks mentioned by the Greek. A large number of inland cities are also mentioned by him which have not been properly identified. The trade from the banks of the Ganges passed along the Andhra coast to the far-off Tamil Nadu whose extensive commerce can be gauged from the Pattinappalain and other posms. Into the ports of Podouke, Melange? and Sopatma flowed all the goods from Egypt and the faither west for distribution to the eastern countries. The spices, sandal and pearls of the south, the aghil and gold of Takola (in Malaya) and Kalaba (Sumatra), the coral of the castern seas, and the camplior, silk and other products of China were familiar in the markets of Andhradesa, as Ptolemy's book proves that there was extensive commercial relationship with these countries.

The discovery of Roman Coins in Vinusconds, Nellore and Cuddappah (chiefly cotton areas¹⁰) and the evidence of a recently discovered inscription of the third centery A.D. at Nagarjunakonds clinch the argument that Andhradesa was well-known

- Somewhere about the mouth of the Swarnaréka or where Pedda Gabjam stands to-day. See pp. 66-7, M'Orladje: Ptolemy edited by Mulurader.
 - 2 At the mouth of the Monnern in Nellore district.
 - 2 Probably Alter Köttapatusm in Gnotier districe,
 - The Krishna is called the Maisolos by labu.
 - ⁹ Ghanţāsāja, near Musulipa;nniu.
 - Küdüsü nest Maselipataam.
 - Point Gülävarl.
 - The Pattupphilis ed. by Mah. V. Swamianthniyer (Tamil).
- Melange has been severally identified with Mahabatipur, Krishnapajam and Bandar Malange.
 - in J. N. A.S., 1904, p. 509,

from China to Rome. On such a broad commercial basis must have been reared the glorious colonial and cultural structure of Greater Andhra. Among the numerous places mentioned by Prolemy in Further India, two deserve special attention—Trilings: capital of Arakan' and Käkula in the Gulf of Siam which might have been so named after the places in the mother country by loval colonials. Pāndurangu, Amurāvati, Vijaya und Kauthura (Kottura), Takola (near Rangoon), Ligor (lit. city) and Simhapura (Singapore), Kalinga and Bhōga (or Bbōja) are some other names? which may serve, at any rate, to confirm our hypothesis that the culture of Further India had its main source in Andhra-Kajinga, The ship coins of Yajūa Šri and the Pallavas have a peculiar significance as vestiges of a lost chapter of Andhra's maritime greatness and the small village of China at the mouth of the Krishna, bearing an inscription of Yajāa Šri from the second century A.D., must have silently witnessed for centuries the flow of the Anothra culture into the wide ocean of strange and distant realms. Andhra like Ancient Greece looked to the east where tradition has located the golden' Burma and Sumatra. ' silver ' Arakan and ' copper ' Champa (Indo-China).3

The decline in trade with the Roman Empire, the disintegration of the Satavahana dominion and perhaps a severe periodic storm rulning some of the ports* at about the commencement of the dark age of the Pauranika must have adversely affected the golden age of Andhra economic history. But a temporary eclipse should not be mistaken as a permanent catastrophe. The fkshväkus maintained and added to the Satavahana traditions. The Pallavas who were originally of the Andhra country—none

Gorini : pp. 29-33.

^{*} Hnöjn (Palembang) was also known as Andhola, see Geriol, pp. 611-13 Gerial assumes some relationship between Möjuppalle (Krishna district) and Peatapolis between the Brahmaputta and Azakon (see p. 35) and between Halongka in Malaya and Malanga (see p. 113).

³ M'Crindle: Ptulemy's Geography edited by Majurador (Calcutta, 1927).

For Sumptes see Itsing's observations. Avm is still called Golden frontier. The Rangoon mouth is still called Golden river.

^{*}There are traditions and other indications to that effect at several places like Pavitri in Kadalhanda Käkundinädu (Gudur tk.), Kanaparti, Peddagaējam and Masulipatnam.

The disintegration of the Salavahana empire and the invasions of the foreign bordes might have contributed to emigration to some extent.

disputes the point—continued to plough the deep seas and sow the seeds of their culture far and wide. Eminent savants like Burnell and Vogel would fain affiliate the dynasties of the South Sea islands with the Pallavas of the mainland. In fact, the intercourse begun in misty antiquity was kept up as late as the eleventh century A.D.; for, the coins of Śaktivarsnan and Rājarāja H of the Eastern Chāļukyan dynasty have been found in Arakan and Siam.¹

Burma

The names Kalinga (for the coast of Pegn) and Utkala (to the north-west of it) given for two parts of Burma? after their Indian prototypes well justify the title. Lord of the Seal given to the Kalinga king by the poet Kalidasa. Phayre quotes traditions that Indians from the mouths of the Krishna and the Gödävari settled in Pegu. He would connect the Tuilangs of Burma with Telingana, as Ptolemy's Trilingon or Triglypton would suggest a similar derivation for the name of the settlers. Intercourse with the east coast of India may be assumed as natural, and is confirmed by the presence of Sanskrit words in Old Talaing and the information about Southern India in Talaing records. Analogies have also been traced between the architecture of Pagan and Southern India. . . The earliest Talaing alphabet is identical with the Vēngi alphabet of the fourth century A.D."

There is an inscription of the first century A.D. in South Indian alphabet in Prome district. A very valuable discovery in the 'land of gold and took ' is reported of a stupe of the sixth of seventh century A.D. This find throws fresh light on the nature of the inter-relations between Burma and Eastern Decean. In old Prome was found a stupe with a relic chamber ' a vertibale

I. A., vol. xix, p. 79. Burnell: South Indian Paleography. Vogel: Inscriptions of Milavarman.

[&]quot; Gerial.

² Raghummsa, vol. vi. p. 57.

^{*} Pasere, History of Barma, p 24.

^{*} Ellut, Mindursm and Buddhiron (London, 1931), vol. iii, p. 51.

^{*} E.L. vol. v, p. 101.

[?] The Times of India (Weekly Illustrated), Bombay, April 3, 1928, p. 36.
See also Hackman: Buddhism as a Religion, p. 63 and Bode: The Pall
Literature from Burma, p. 8.

wonder-house of archæological treasures. Round the top of the stupa is an inscription in mixed pyw and pali in a script closely. related to Kannada-Telugu script of South India.' A manuscript of twenty thin gold leaves with short extracts in pali of the Dharma in an early South Indian script of the same type as above, gold and silver images of the Buddha, a number of inscribed silver and gold finger-rings, ear ornaments, miniminers boats, terra-cotta reliefs, colus of various value, beads, precious stones-speak volumes of the source whence Burmese religion. and culture were imported. After the mission of Asoka, every boat from Andhradesa (which to-day can boast of the most extensive Buddhist remains) must have carried the Gospel of the Enlightened One. It is a fact, bowever, that Buddhaghosa, began the revival in Burma and supplied her with the scriptures. he assiduously worked at in Ceylon. Burma in due course passing them on to Siam. As Buddhaghosa speaks of Andhra. and of the Godavari with familiarity and mentions two kingdoms on her banks, it may be assumed that he resided for a time in the sacred Innd-2 As Rhys Davids would make Dharmapala and Buddhaghosa university mates and as Dharmapala is said to have absconded from a festive home and lived sometime in a mountain monastery," it is likely that the future savants studied together for a while in Andhra.

A far-reaching suggestion has been recently made that the Salankayanas of Vengi (Krishna Dt.) were responsible for the introduction of Buddhism into Burma. 'The Salankayan makes Buddhadatta and Buddhaghesa co-contemporaries of the Talang king San Lan Krom who ruled in modern Pagan. This San Lan Krom was in all probability a member of the Salankayana dynasty of kings... noted for their naval power and maritime commerce. It is also noteworthy that this same San Lan Krom is credited with the introduction of Buddhism into Borma.' Again, 'Buddhadatta was invited by the Kings of Vengi whose patronage had set the Buddhist school at Kanthi on a sound basis. It is not unlikely that Buddhadatta was consulted, if not actually deputed, in connection with introducing Buddhism

¹ Gray, Buddhaghosauppaiti, p. 31.

B. C. Law, Buddhaghosha (Calcutta), J.R.A.S. 1923, p. 269.

^{*} Spey, of Religiou and Ethics, vol. iv, p. 701. Heal; Life of Hisen-Teany, pp. 138-9.

into Borma where the kings of Vengi, the Śalankāyanas had made more or less permanent settlements.'1

Curiously enough, in the post-Satavahana period we know only the Ikshvakus, Damodara of the Anandagotra, and a stray Simhavarman Pallava as patrons of Buddhism. Curlously enough, we know of the Salankayanas only as devotees of Siva, Surya and Vishnu. About Buddhadatta's relation with Andhradesa or Burma, little is known as the scholar refers only to the Tamil country.

Malay Peninsula

Throughout Further India, all immigrants from the coast of the Commandel were called Klings probably because the earliest and the most familiar colonists went from Kalinga which was vacually used to denote the country extending from the Mahanadí to the Gödävari. The Malay Peninsula was known as golden Chersonese and parts of it were from time to time included politically under Burma, Java and Siam. According to tradition, Ligor on the east coast was founded by a descendant of Aśiyka, Prince Dantakumāra of Dantaputa who was wrecked on the Malay coast.3 In the Hindu art of Ligor may be traced the influence of the art of Ellora and Mahabalipuram in the accentuation of the limbs and charm of thythmical movement," In Ligor and Wellesley are found inscriptions of the fourth century. A. D. proving that Buddhism was already well-established on the Takola on the west coast was the medium of communication between the mainland and Indo-China where another seed of Indian civilisation had been planted in the dim past. bronzes of Sawan Kolak (Swargaloka) with their 'ovoid form. boldly modelled locks, eyebrows like raised crescents, hooked nose and smiling mouth have their Indian prototype in the images of Buildhäni in Guntur district." The images of Buddhanf and Amacavati represent the same school of art combining

^{*} J.O.R. (Madras), vol. il, part II, pp. 112-14.

⁵ There is an Asoka among the earliest ancestors of the Pallavas, see the Vayabor Ins.

² Gerici, pp. 107-8 ; р. 109).

^{*} Salayeny : Sculpture in Siam, pp. 5 and 14.

Gerini, p. 178.

^{*} J. R. A. S. 1885, pp. 617-37 by Sewell.

in itself the best of the native and foreign styles and the marble and metallic Buddhas of Andhra were in great demand in distant countries following the *Dharma*.

Indo-China

Thanks to the French savants, much is known of the cultural affinities of Indo-China which is loosely used to denote a number of kingdoms which rose and fell in succession. The kingdom of Champa was founded evidently by colonists from India as early as the second century A. D. It comprised what is now called Annam and included the provinces of Amaravati, Vijaya, Kauthara and Panduranga. The Vocan stone inscription 1 of about the third century A. p. traces the ruling dynasty to a certain Sri Mara. The epigraph is of unusual interest as it is in Sanskrit in the same script as the Girnür inscription of Rudradāman and the Kanhēri inscription of Vāsishtiputra Śātekarņi, The script must have travelled via Andhra-Kalinga to Indo-China. More noteworthy is the evolution of the Indo-Chinese script pari passe with that of the Decean script which could not have happened but for close intercourse with the Decean. The Vocan epigraph has been considered Buddhist though there is little evidence of the prevaience of the religion till long after. King Bhadravarman I 'learned in the four Vedas' calls himself Dharma Mahārājā³. like some of the Pallavas (400 A. D.) and scholars are not wanting who trace all the dynasties of Further India which have royal names ending in varman to the Pallava stnek.

Funan was west of Champa and at the height of its power comprised Cochin-China, Cambodia, Siam and parts of Malaya. The kingdom of Funan dates back to the first century A. D. when Kaundinya, a Brahmin from India, is said to have Hindulsed the country, married a naga princess and founded a dynasty. The inscription of 658 A. D. 3 continues to say that he planted the javelia received from Asynthaman, son of Drona,

^{&#}x27;Ancient Indian Colonies in the Par East, vol. i, Champa, by Dr. R. C. Majandar (Labore, 1927) Book iii, p. 1. For full references see Ellot: chap, iii, pp. 100 and 137.

^{*} De. Majumdar, p. 27.

² Dr. Majumdar; Book iii, p. 18-Myson Stelac los, of Prokasadharma d, 579 Saka.

The story bears a family resemblance to that of the Pallava who obtained a kingdom by a naga marriage, who was descended from Asvathanan and a nagi and who belonged to the Bharadwaja gotra. There was constant intercourse with the mainland as Chandravarman sent an embassy to India (250 a. a.) and as in the next century another Kanadinya arrived from India in Funan and reformed the people. Chandravarman, Devavarman and Jayavarman of Indo-China ' remarkably enough, have their namesakes in the dynastics of Vengi while Indravarman, so largely figuring in the history of Champo, is a familiar name among the Ganga Kings of Kalinga. Buddhist embassics were despatched to China by the kings of Funan from time to time.

About the sixth century A.D. the vassal state, Kamboja (Cambodia) began to assert itself and soon destroyed the power of Funan. Bhavavarman's inscription is said to be like that of Mangaless of the Western Chālukyan family (end of the sixth century A.D.)² Buddhism of the Mahayana form was popular in Kamboja, Siam (Sukho-daya) was first under Cambodia and became independent about the thirteenth century A.D.

All the inscriptions of Indo-China are in Sanskrit and the script is Chalukyan or Deccani. In the later inscriptions after the sixth century, the Saka era is used. As the era was popular only in the Deccan, it must have crossed to Indo-China from that country. Though the era is not used by the dynasties of the East Coast till very late, it has been rightly conjectured that Indo-Chinese civilisation had its source in the lower valleys of the Mahānadi, the Gödävari and the Krishna and her ruling families were related to those of the same regions. Emigrants to Indo-China from Western Deccan, it must be remembered, generally cut scross the country and embarked from the Andhra Coast. The close correspondence between the Eastern Chālukyan script of Andhradēsa and the script of Indo-China bespeaks the continuous influence of the one on the other.

As early as the fourth century A.D. there was an elaborate system of worship of the Hindu deities in Indo-China. This, together with the custom of deification of kings, queens and

^{* (14.} Majumdar : пр. 32-3.

Eliot: vol. iii, p. 100 and i.n. 4. Debreull's A. H. of the Decess, p. 65.

other great personages, was Dravidian, perhaps largely Tamil in origin. The bronze image of the Buddha as a Gara showing anmistakeable Greek influence in dress is of the same type as the images discovered in Amarāvati and was undoubtedly imported from that region.

The architecture of Indo-China owes much to the Pallava style the best representatives of which are found at Mahābali-puram. The styles of the pagodas are mostly an evolution from the pre-existing Buddhist forms of architecture found in plenty in Andhra. In the words of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, 'the characteristic feature of a Cham temple with its storeyed roofs of several stages is derived from the Dravidian style which made its appearance in India as early as the seventh century A.D. in the Māmaliapuram rathus and the temples of Kahchi and Bādāmi ',2 Even in the intricate floral designs and in the lotus and makana motifs in sculpture, the influence of the mainland is traceable.

. Ceylan

There are some Buddhist stories connecting Andhra and Ceylon like those relating to the relies of Rămagrāma and to the tooth-relie of Dantspura. Duttagāmini obtained some relies from Andhra which he eashtined with great pomp. The assembly that he held on the occasion was attended by Mahādēva and by thousands of monks from Pallavahogga which may be identified with Palaād in Andhra. With the relies must have travelled to Ceylon the art of Andhra as the ancient dāgabas of the island were in the Andhra style. Structural edifices of the same type as the rock-cut monastery at Undavalli (Gunthr district) are found in Ceylon as well as in far-off Cambodia.

Pilgrims and scholars used to go to and from Ceylon as that island had a good collection of the scriptures. Nāgārjuna 4 and Āryadēva are associated with the island, while Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta of a later day laboured hard in her libraries.

¹ The Influences of Indian Art (The India Society, London, 1925), p. 121. Mazemdar: Champa, pp. 211-13.

^a Mazumdar, p. 272-73.

³ Rea : South Indian Buddhist Antiquities (Arch. Sur. of India N. I. Series, 1894), pp. 39-40.

^{*} See the Chapter on Nagarjana Bodhisativa, the King of Monks.

The 'island of pearls and precious stones' had large commerce with the mainland and with the Spice Islands.

The Spice Islands

Sir Stamford Raffles was the pioneer in the field of Javan antiquities and his noble work has been ably continued by the Batavian Society and Dutch scholars.

The islands of the South Seas, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Bali, and Madura are other fields bearing the stamp of Pallava expansion. The grandest and biggest stupa at Borobudur (which was modelled on the stupa of Sangharama in its mighty design with countless dagabas and that of Amaravati in its numerous and elegant sculptures) and the temple to the Trinity at Prambanasa (another monumental work) bring the most important of the islands, Java, into intimate contact with Andhra. temples were generally for the Trinity like the one at Prambanam. The stupa of Borobudur shows the astounding range and audacity of the artists who have chiselled a mountain into a paradise of beauty. The history that began with Bharhut and passed through Amaravati in meridian splendor closed in Borobudar in picturesque glory. In dimensions, it is unparalleled; in beauty of conception, it is anequalled; in the sculptures of its galleries ' which would extend over three miles if arranged consecutively ', it is unique,

Java or Varedwißa was sometimes indifferently applied to Sumatra as well as to Java. The references of Ptolemy, Fa-Hian and Itsing are to the former rather than to the latter. Java of to-day was known as Kalinga and possessed two towns of the same name and another named Śri Bhōga or Bhōja (Bhōgavati, Tamil Nāgapuram).* There are traditions of colonisation by a certain Ādi Śaka, by the peoples of Telingana and by the peoples of Kalinga.

The Knwl poems of Java and Bali are like the South Indian artificial poems.* The inscriptions found in Java and Borneo are in Pallava or early southern script.* The style of the Javan

[·] Fergusson : Indian and Eastern Architecture, II. p. 318.

^{*} Takakuan : Itsing, p. klvll.

² Modras Journal of Literature and Science, vol. 2vl, p. 132, Sir S. Roffies: History of Jaon, vol. il, p. 72; Gerini, p. 591.

^{*} Burnell : S. I. Paleography.

⁶ J. A. Iv, p. 255.

architecture is southern or Pallava. Pürnavarman of the Javan inscriptions like Mülavarman of Borneo was apparently of the Pallava stock. In the decrepalar, in the figures in the niches, in arches and in sculptures in relief, the same Pallava influence is clearly traceable. The use of the Saka era by the later kings of Java shows again the influence of the Deccan rather than of the Tamil country.

In the fourth century A.D. Fa-Hian noted the decline of Buddhism in the islands. From the next century we get the Brahminical inscriptions of Pūrnavarman. In the seventh century, Itsing remarks about the popularity of Buddhism, the importance of Śri Bhōga in Sumatra as a centre of learning and the common intercourse between China and India which is testified to by Ptolemy and Fa-Hian. The new impetus must have come from the Brahminical revival all along the coast from which the Buddhists might have escaped by sailing to the islands.

In Borneo, the Yupa inscriptions of Mhiavarman treveal the prevalence of Vēdie Brahminism in the fourth century A.D. From the script and from the name of the king, Mūlavarman has been pronounced as of the Pallava lineage. According to his inscription, Adirāja Aditya Dharma of Sumatra was a devotee of the Buddha and erected a seven-storeped vihāra (656 A.D.). According to Itsing, Sumatra was very rich with its gold and spices. The type of the Buddha found in these islands is similar to that of Amarāvati with asimisa, short curls, full robes, etc. Pallava influences are visible at every turn in the monuments of the isles.

Results

The period when Buddhism was popular was one of restless activity as the religion was a missionary one. Prominent religious centres were also of great economic importance.

Increased commerce led to greater economic activity, more wants, more luxuries and a fuller life. Things largely available in one country were brought to another and thus production increased all round in all countries. More commerce meant more wealth and more leisure for finer arts and literature. In short, civilisation grew by leaps and bounds.

By Dr. Vogel of Leyden,

The colonial expansion of Andhra civilised savage tribes in Greater India, gave them a new religion, art and literature and created a zest in them for a higher life. For the emigrants, it gave new experiences and brought a wider scope for intellectual and economic activity. The mother country derived the benefit of oversea trade and had additional training ground for her religious teachers. Her literature spread and was added to by her children abroad. Some of the inscriptions of Indo-China are good literature; they mention some of the rare literary works of the mainland and are relies of a considerable literary output by the colonials. There was, on the whole, more of movement, activity, enterprise and initiative under the favourable conditions of a busy commercial and colonial life.



CHAPTER XIV

THE ADMINISTRATION

A WELL-ORGANIZED administration with ministers and local governors and subordinate officials, more or less, on the Mauryan model, was in existence under the Satakamis. This is learnt from their inscriptions which mention some of their officials and from those of their crstwhile feudatories, the Pallavas. There is no reason to think that in empire building and administrative organization the Satavahanas were not inspired by the northern models and literature on Politics. The Satavahana empire was of the same kind as the Mauryan with an order of governors who, like Skandanaga, combined the function perhaps with that of a general of the king. The extent of the empire depended on the capacity of the king and was not dictated by racial affinities or linguistic considerations. In India, an empire by its very nature was short-lived. It simed, not at exploitation but at glory and gave a sense of pride and a position of privilege to the emperor. Very rarely the native dynasties were rooted out, and never did the empire stop the even tenor of the local life. The empire was but a fulfilment of higher life but never the whole life itself. It was not one well-knit organism but a combine of organisms with independent life throbbing in the several local capitals.

Local Divisions

Even a small kingdom requires for a proper discharge of its functions a division and separation of power. Just as a loose imperial organization was the rule in the history of India, so a self-contained local life was a general feature. A certain number of villages constituted a vishaya or district which had a central official for looking to the two primary duties of collecting the revenues of the king and maintaining his authority. Looking after the king's charities and deciding disputes were also matters within his competence. The rashfra or province was found only in an empire. Or, if an independent kingdom was reduced to subjection, it often bore the name rankfra to remind, as it were, its former freedom. Thus, Mundarashtra, Karmarashtra and Vepgorashtra were kingdoms once. It may be remembered

that the country of the Andhras who now naturally look forward to a province of their own was only occasionally under one umbreila and even then the power of the local Rājas and chiefs was not inconsiderable. The districts of Gonţūr, Krishna and Gödävari were invariably under three independent dynasties.

The Officials.

The king the head of the kingdom was the supreme authority. He made no new laws but only administered the customs and the Brahminical laws. He rarely interfered with local life or with the people's. He had his advisers on whom devolved the bulk of Sometimes, like Jayavarman, the king would his duties. himself sign a grant of lands. Often, he would go out on camp to inquire into the welfare of his subjects, visiting the holy spots and dispensing charity to Gods and Brahmins. Many of the charters of the Pallavas of the northern branch were issued from such camps. Some kings like Skandavarman and his son Vuvarāja Vishņugāpa, were famons scholars. The Yuvarāja was associated with the administration and Yuvarajas like Sivaskandavarraan and Vishpugöpa have made grapts on their own authority. Manchyanna the Vishnukundin prince was an ainasti. of a grant and Yuvaraia Vishnugona led the army into the field. We have no idea at present what part, if any, the queen played in the administration. The freedom and equality of the women of those days are impressed upon us by the Andhra sculptures. which contain panels of local kings and queens holding court together. Instances are not wanting of queens like Charadevi and princesses like Chantisti making grants. The growing Brahminical influences must have operated on the relations. between the sexes to the disadvantage of the fair.

All the officials of the king's court are not mentioned in the inscriptions which are our only source for this subject. The royal princes are addressed by the Hirabadagalli plates' from

They are also addressed to 'the generals, rulers of districts, prefects of countries, ministers, military officers,' etc. For Sățavăhana officials and administration see E.I., vol. i, p. 95; x, Ap. No. 1278; aviil, p. 516; atv, p. 153. In the Sățavăhana and post Sățavăhana periode there must have been a fairly organized military department. Elephanis are mentioned more than once as an important limb of the army. All hig villages and capital towns were fortified. There is no evidence, however, to show if the state owned ships for war and other purposes if we amit the reference to the Sățavăhana boats in a Tamil epic.

which the inference may be drawn that they were viceroys. The same grant is signed by Bhattisaaman the privy councillor (rahasadhikata). Another grant of the same age, the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, mentions the Maharaja's upatrila (executive officer) and Mahadandanaya.ba (general in chief). In the mahālalavara of the Ikshvāku sovereigns may be seen a high official of the sword. Ministers and governors of the king are mentioned by the Kollera grant of Mandivarman Sälankäyana and Ariunadatta was amates of Vasishtiputra Saktivarman. Mahārāja of Kalinga who suled from Pithapuram. davēgi plates mention desadkipalya, ayuktaka, vallabka, rājapurushas, etc. (governors, revenue officers, favorites, princes, etc). Except the duties of the makadandanayaka, those of the other advisers of the king cannot be defined and the former often occupied only a second place in command as the king biasself led the forces to battle. The existence of a record office and of a special officer in charge of it are suggested to us by the word seen 'that is engraved on the charters. Generally, a big officer signed the grant and executed it issuing the necessary letters for the purpose. It would be absurd to linegine that an organized administration in such a civilized epoch went on Without regular records, chronicles and accounts. In more than one record, e.g., in the Pikira and Uruvappalli benefactions royal favorites are mentioned. These were presumably a distinguished order scattered throughout the kingdom who were honored by the king with private audience and personal friendship and who thus constituted a bulwark of the monarchy as did the brahmins whose learning and piety were at the service of the State in return for its benefactions to them. The inscriptions of the period of our study and the long Eastern Châlukyan inscriptions indicate the preservation at the courts of royal genealogies and some of the important events.

The local divisions had their officials like the nipogas, nipuktas, apuktakas and the viskapapati of the Kantern grant II, and the adkikrita and apuktakas of Karmaräshtra of the Omgodu grant I. Mentlon has already been made of princes who were viceroys. The Mayidavölu grant is addressed to the royal representative ruling Andhrapatha from Amarāvati. Thus, the Pallava had two or more viceroys in the third century A.D. Under him were the district and other officials. Even the Sälankäyana of Vēngirājya seems to have had governors according

to the Kolleru grant. Provincial and local chiefs (Rathika and Bhojaka) appear as early as Kharavēla's inscription (2nd. century s.c.). The Hirāhadagalli and the Uruvappalli plates of two conturies later mention rulers of districts and prefects of counties. Below the district heads were the heads of villages. A village headman is known from the Bhattiprolu inscriptions of the third century u.c. and in the Bhojaka of the inscriptions of this period may be seen a slightly higher limb of power. Thus, Kavachakāra Bhōga was a subdivision of Karmarāshtra.4 The vicercy or governor seems to have had his own advisers and departmental heads for his province. The overseers of the Pikirā plates were inspectors of modern times who toused about and kept up the efficiency of the administration. In the same document are found mentioned messengers who were charged with special tasks, while the roaming spies of the Hirahadagalli plates remind us of Kantilya's Arthaustra which deems them indispensable as the eyes and ears of the king. The mention of generals, guards and military officers in the same valuable document warrants the inference that the king's army was divided and stationed in different and vulnerable parts of the kingdom.

The political divisions of Andhers.

The Andhra country contained, among others, the following divisions:—

- (1) Sätäbani räshtra of the Myäkadoni² and the Hirahada-galli inscriptions. It was the region in and round Adöni to the east of the natural boundary of the Sandur kilis, but if it extended eastward as far as the later Rönädu in Cuddappah is not known.
- (2) Bălikulanădu, the land of the Bānas which lay west of the Andhraputha or Vadugavali 12,000. This nade comprised parts of the modern Cuddappah and Chittoor districts. There is no early reference to the Bāna except that in the Tālagunda inscription. A part of the Balikula nādu was in later Pākarāshṭra which comprised parts of Cuddappah and Nellore and had Pottappi as its capital (Pullampet taluk), the city figuring in many later Telogu Chōla fascriptions. This dynasty affiliated to the Tamil Chōlas was found here as early as the seventh

¹ E.L. vol. viii, p. 230.

century according to Hiuen-Tsang and inscriptions and this link between Andhra and Dravida must have influenced Telugureligion and literature from Karikāla's days.

- (3) Muliki sagu or Muriki sagu which appears as Mulaka in the Nāsik inscription of the second century a.p.¹ It comprised a goodly portion of the present Kurnool district and a part of south-east Hyderabad and was dominated by Sri Parvata. There are inaumerable references to it in later inscriptions.²
- (4) Munda rüshtra of the Pikirā³ and Uruvappalli Plates.⁴ Why it was so called is not known. It comprised the present Nellore district, more or less. It was once an independent kingdom and perhaps Ptolemy's Arranni extended so far. For long it was the home province of the Pallavas together with the Cuntur district. Pākanāḍa or h'juhaya appears later as a division of this rashtra.³
- (5) Karma räshtra north of Munda räshtra. It was also originally an important division and possessed the most famous and magnificent Buddhist establishments. It was also known as Karmanändu' or Kammanändu and is as old as the Jaggayyapēta inscriptions of the third century A.D. It is surmised that Kammanändu in Hyderabad had some connection with Karmaräshtra. This country was later on known as Velanändu or Velanädu (round Rēpalle) Krotnādu (new country, round Amarāvati) and so on. The Vishapa of Kantēru, Kandēruwādi was a well-known one in this province.*
- (6) Vēnghaādo or Vengorāshţa, north of Karmarāshta. It was the doab between the Krishna and the Gödāvari and indefinitely extended up to the Ghats to the west. It was the very heart of Andhra for long. The Kudūrāhāra Vishaya round Masulipatnam of this Nāḍu is very well known from the third century A.D.⁹
 - ¹ E.J., vol. viii, p. 61.
- * E.I., vol. lit, p. 24. Parts of Anantpur were in later Najaväräl and Najambapädi both of which can be freed back to the several century.
 - ² F.I., vol. viii, p. 159.
 - * /.A., vol. v. p. 30.
 - * E.I., vol. 14, p. 74,
 - E.I., vol. xv, p. 246; E.I., vol. viil, p. 233.
 - ⁷ Nitrole of Nitrole does not occur in the inscriptions of our period.
 - E L, vol. xviii, p. 55.
- * I.A., vol. v, p. 154; S.I.I., vol. i, p. 47 f. n.; I.A., vol. v, p. 176; E.I., vol. vi, p. 315.

- (7) Pröipädu, north of the Gódávari, occurs first in an eighth century inscription. It was the country round Pithäpuram. The name of the country between Rajahmundry and Pithäpuram is not known though it contained the vishaya of Guddádi¹ round Drākshāramā and Chellur.
- (8) Dëvarështra occurring in a late inscription as the name of the country in which Yellamanchi Kalinga was, i.e., round modern Yellamanchili (M.S.M.Ry.). Dëvarështra occurs in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta as the kingdom of Kubëra though it is uncertain if the reference is to the Telugu Dëvarështra and not to the Mahārātta.
- (9) Piakirāshtra² in and round Rāmatirtham (Vizagapatnam district) occurs in the Vishnukundin inscription of Rāmatirtham and in the Chipurpalle inscription of Kubja Vishnuvardhana. North of this began Kalinga Proper though undoubtedly Kalinga extended its sway indefinitely as far as the Gōdāvarī as opportunities occurred. About the seventh century and onwards, it expanded over a large part of modera Vizāgapatnam district. The Rāgholu plates of Šaktivarman call the country round Chicacole Kalinga Vishaya and they perhaps belong to about 400 A.D. Besides Kalinga, Kosala encroached upon Āndhra from time to time to the west of the Ghats.³

In all the inscriptions between 200 and 600 A.D., there is no suggestion of any rule other than that of one man. Committees and nigamas with president and treasurer appear in the early Bhattiprölu inscriptions as well as in those of Amaravati and Buddhist sanghas with their own functionaries to supervise their works, their meetings, etc., must have existed in large numbers. But, how far the self-governing guilds and sanghas may be taken as reminiscent of extinct political and judicial sabhar it is very

^{*} E.L., vol. zviii, p. 58; vol. iv, p. 33; vol. zvii, p. 334. The origin of Guddādi may be traced to Guddi (blind, Andhaka).

^{*} E.J., vol. xii, p. 133; vol. iz, p. 517.

² E.I., vol. xii, p. I. The validitis of Kosnlanādu are a distinct branch of the Telugu Brahmins.

^{*}The rangha was the governing body of each monastery. It was democratic and well regulated. It owned property, had officers and perfodic meetings for religious and administrative business, it was no easy matter to provide a big establishment with food, etc. There was communal life. See D. R. Bhandarkar: Carmichael lectures (Calcutta Univ.) for the rules of the sangha. But the fully had no share in the sangha.

difficult to say, though the Hathigumpha inscription warrants to some extent the prevalence of local self-government in Kalinga.¹ A stray reference to the place of the village assembly as a boundary mark in an inscription of Amma II is, however, very suggestive.²

Revenues

The revenues of the state were drawn from various sources. The mainstay of Public finance has always been land revenue. In addition, numerous imposts were fevied. There were duties, on articles of merchandise and special customs officers were appointed by the Pallava for the purpose. The king had a share in all the products grown and manufactured,3 Thus, he was entitled to a percentage of milk, buttermilk, sugar, salt, vegetables, etc. In all likelihood, the custom originated in the supplies made to the king during his tours. The king had the rights of purveyance and pre-emption against which the Magna Charta provided in England. Men and oxen could be forced into royal service. Grass, wood, vegetables, etc., were required to be supplied to the king. In course of time, all these dues must have been consolidated as the total revenue from the village. Thus, the Komarti plates of Chandravarman of Kalinga" speak of the grain and gold due from a village gifted away to a Brahmin. The grain was the share of the land revenue and the gold, the other imposts. The donce never interfered with the agricultural or other organization of the village, but, thereafter what used to go to the royal treasury went into his hands.

Charities

Out of the revenues, the king maintained his household and establishment. He celebrated pajuas which benefited the poor and gave lands to Brahmins and Gods, the former being the custodians of learning, the high priests of religion who kept

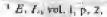
Poura and Janapada occur to the inscription. The Janapada of Kantera (Guntur district) is mentioned in an inscription of the Annada Güten, The Janapada of Sătavăhani ahāra occurs in the Myakadöni inscription.

I,A,, vol. viii, p. 76; E,I., vol. v, p. 138,

³ This had its origin in tribal kingship when the king was entitled to the best that was produced and to a share of all products.

E, I., vol., iv, p. 142.

the calendar and propitiated the gods and the holders of the halance of justice which was done according to the customs and One king, the father of Sivaskanda Pallaya gave ox-ploughs for cultivation, perhaps after clearing wasteland. Lands given to Brahmins enjoyed the rights of a Brahmadeya while those gifted to temples those of a Devabloga. tenures were exempt from the vexations dues to the king which were eighteen in number. Thus, the Mayidavoin grant gives the donee exemption from diggings for salt, supply of bullocks, entrance of soldiers, supply of boiled rice, water-pots, cots and dwellings, etc. Thus, he was online moster of the dues he derived from the gift lands. The royal officers are asked by the charters not to interfere with such lands, which suggests an elaborate Land-revenue routing according to which officers inspected and reported on crops, etc. From these inscriptions, we learn incidentally that there were serfdom' and forced labor and also the quartering of soldiers in the villages. Besides these gifts to Gods and Brahmins, kings built temples, dug tanks and did other kinds of public good. The rajatojaka of Charudevi's grant was perhaps the gift of a king.



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GENEALOGICAL TABLES

I. SOUTHERN ANDHRA

(A large part of Guntar, Nellote and a large part of the Ceiled [Estricus].

PALLAYAS

(See pages 76 and 180) Fusher of Siva or Visavaskandavarulan (an. after 225 a.e. Married a Väga ()

SOL

Siva or Vharnskandsvaruum (ac. about 230 A D. Advamedhin, Donor of Mayidayolu and Hitagio (Ingalii plutes)

6011

(Yuvur≣a) Buddhuarasusa (married Charudevi, donor of Kandukara C. P. Isebeaka away in Amarayati (i) About 275 a.b.

> SOIL. "Buddäyuskopa (ner about 300 a.u.)

Vishgugaşın (340 A.D. contemporary of Samudraigupta).

Chola laterargaum Riss of the Kadambee

Kumärnvishgu I (Asvamedlun, captured Känchi 350 a.o.)

Kinachi 500

Hoddhavarman (no. 385 a.m. tought with the Chillan

SOIL. Kamāravishņu II Lat. 410 A.D. donor of the Cherdalfit C.P., roled up to the Krishnak

Kälichi

Simbararman (no. 135 a.n. according to Lokurithings, crowned the Gauga and warred with the Kadamitio who had jegge pint relations i

8000

Skanilovarman (crowned the Gango and warred with the Kudamba)

Skandayasının (negulçeğ a Lingdam)

Northern

多可止 Viravarman ja great victor).

500 Skandavarman (a hero of 100 bardes and dopor of Omgodul, C. P.)

Northern

Vayvarāja Vishaugopa (degen of Gravappalli C. P.,

Simhavarman (doone of Pikira, Mangadur and Omgödu II. C.P. collquered Véngi. (av. about 450 A.m.)

L. SOUTHERN ANDHRA—(owt/L):

Nandivarious (warred with the Kadambia.
Annuda Gotra founded new / dunor at
Udayendiram gract)

Simhavishmu (ac. 575 a.p. contemporary of Sunhavishmu (assended the Kativazuran Chāļukya htmage of Kājadd)

Sign Mahéndrayarunan (the great, boot his Northern possessions, ac. 600 A.D.)

Navashukayathaan (contemporary of Hinen Tanng, Killed Pulakédin II)

II. CENTRAL ANDHRA

(Parts of Eastern Hyderabait, Bristona and West Codavari Instituta).

1. IKSHVAKUS

(Ruled Northetts Audhra and parts of Gaupte District also).

Chāntāmīlā (Ašvamēdha, perhaps contemparary of Nāgārjamā, "Astramer 225 a.p.)

SUL

Matheripotra Sit Virapore-haddles (Ae, about 750 A.P., Coopered parts of Guater and Kristota bearries. Matrix La Saka of Ulyain. Beautified Nightimakenda. Intemptions there. Matrix ge alliance with the Chafter.

50 D

Bahubala (Ac. about 275 A.B. Tracoption at Nagarjunal anga. Marriage alliance with the Maharisia of Varayas)

Rise of the Śalnijkāyanas, Kadamlayi und the Vākatakas.
 Invitaiou of Samudragapta 349 A.D.

II. SALANKAYANAS

(Ruled Krishyè nud West Gedövan Districts).

Vijayadëvavatman. (Ac. erat of the III century a.tr. Askanseithus Conqueered the Britishphalayana kangdem * Conquered parts of the Ikshväker kangdom * Innour of Elbert Prakris C. F.)

> Vijeyanmadi, domer of a lost Prakrit C. D., Sog. Vavgrana Vijeya Raddbavarman

II. ŠĂLAŇKĀYANAS—(confd.)

Hostiverman (340 A.B. contemporary of Samudragupte. A watries)

and Nandivarman, dager of Kantera C. P. II

> son Chaudravarman (a warrior)

> > j son

Naudivermen (donor of Peddayiig) and Kollery C. P.)

Hrother of whove?

Vijayaskandavarman (denot of Kantōre C. P. I. Temporary Pallava sway in Vengt. Vishpokundia conquest of Vengt (about 460 a.b.)

III. VISHNUKUNDINS

(Originally in the Sri Sailam region(?), then rulers of Krishni, West Godavari and parts of East Godavari Districts. Once ruled upto Ramatirtham in the north and a bit south of the Krishna in the coult for some years).

Madhayayargian 1 (Ac. about 350 A.D. Asyamedhin)

зоп Бетауалиан.

Madhavavarman II (donos of Ipus C. P. 11 in year 47)

Govindayarman

Madhayayarman III (macried a Vākāṭaka, accession to Vengt in 600 or so a.p., donor of Iper I. C. P. in year 37)

> son Vikramendtavarman I

Indravarman (watted with Kalinga, Donor of Ramaurtham C. P. in year 27.) Ganga era after year 27

vikeamendrayarman II (donor of Chikkulla C. P.)

son Gevindayarınan II

Madhavavaramen IV or Jawassaya (donor of Godëvari C. P. in year 48, and of rule in 610)

III. NORTHERN ÅNDHRA

(A small part of Eastern Hyderabad, Rasi Godavari and Vizagapateant Districts. Kalinga sometimes extended upto the Godavari. Later, Vizag District became a part of Kalingal.

Ikshváku, ruše ?

Mahendra, and Swämidama. Kubera (?) 340 A.n.

Väsistipetra Šaktivarman (ruled from Pithäpuram. Ornameni of the Magadha family. Donor of Rügholu C. P.). Any relation with the Ikaliväkus or Vähütakas ?

Chandravarman (donor of Komarti C. P.)

Usunvarman (denor of Bribatpreatha C. P.)

Nandaprabhañ jarayarman (donor of a C. P.)

Indea (opponent of the Visingukundin Indea according to Prithvimula's Godárarl C. P., contemporary of Harisena Väkätaka, founded the Gauga era)

Hastirorman (year 80 of the Gangos. Donot of Utlain C. P. Warrior, fee of Polekesin II?)

Indpavarman (donor of Achyutāpusam year 87 Tekkai) and Parjāklmedl C. P. 91

grandson Indravarman (year 128 Chicacole C. P.)

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V Century	: Dignage.
V1 Contury?	Bhii cavi vėka,
VII Centuary	Darmakirti.
630 644	Hiven Tsang's travels in India,
671-695	Travels of Itsing.
	PART II
B.C.	

TV Century ... Dravidian Colonists in Eurma, ... Inscriptions of Asökn near Goory. III Century ... Inscriptions of Bhattiprolit. III Century

340

B,C,				
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ft Century		Khāravēla of Kalinga, contemporary of Sātakarņi of Nārsighāt.		
A.D.				
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		Ikskvākus independent—Chantamāta.		
		Bribatpholayenas balependent—Jayavarman. Pallavas independent—Šivaskandavarman's lather.		
III Century		Vocan inscription in Indo-China.		
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		Sivaskandavarnom, Pallava.		
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Billiatphalayana kingdom annexed by

Śālańkāyana Vējayadēenvarman.

Invasion of Samulinguasa,

A.D. 340 Vishgugosa of Kāhchi, Pallaya, Ugrasēja of Palakka, Pallaya (?). Hastivarmon of Vengi, Sālaākāyana. Mahendra of Pithäpuram. Swāmidatta of Kottoru. Mantarāja of Kaurāla. 340 - 360Chala interreguum at Käüclai. Rise of Mayurasarman. Prithyjsenn I, Väkätaka the first to come South and congree Kuntala. First Vishankundin in Sri Sailam region (7). Saktivarman of Pithaputam Maharaja of Kalinga. 330 Kumāravishnu Pallava recaptures Kāāchi. 380 Accession of Chandragupta II, Gupta, 395 Marriage of Frabhävati, daugater of Chandragupto II and the Väkätaka king Rudrasena II. IV Century Fabian in India and Java. IV Century Múlavarman in Borneo. IV Century Buddhist inscription in Makya, ---400 Bladeavarment of Inde-Chiesa. 114.1 V Century Přemovarovan of Javá. V Century Buddhaghosharand Buddhadatta, 400-423 Kumaravislum, grandson of eapter of Känchi and ruler of the country as far as the Krisima. Raghu, Kadamba. Madhayayarman II, Vishaqkondin in Sri-Sailam region (?) Chandravarınan, Sâlańkāvana. Accession of Vijayanandi, Śālankāvana. Chandravarman of Kalinga (?) 435 Accession of Simhavarman of Känchi, Pallava. Simhayarman of Känchi, Palluya-Crowned 425-450 the Gariga. Simbayarman of Nellore and Guntur who conguered Vengi, Kakusthavaranan, Kadamba. Mikibayayannan III Vishnakundin. married a Vākātaks (450?).

Umāvarman of Kalinga (?)

Į.	7	0			

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ANDREA HISTORY 225-610 A D.

110	AMBRECA MISTORY 223-010 A IN
A.D.	
450	Invasion of Vēngl by Simbayerman, Pallava (son of Vishpugopa), Šalankāyana rule cods.
460	Beginning of Vishnakundin sule in Vēngi. Mādhavovarman III, King of Vēngi.
475-500	Skandavarman at Kañchi, Pallava (son of Simbavarman). Mrigëšavarman, Kadamba, End of Vishpukundin Madhayayarman HI's
	rule. Accession of Rayivarman, Kadamba.
500-523	Nandivarman, Pallava at Käächi. Instavarman, Vishnukundia—Rämatirthum C.P. in year 27. Induvarman of Kalinga.
523-550	Harisena Väkäntka Äadhra and Kalinga independent of the Väkätaka. Geoga esa.
55 0	Apandagatra founded (?) Bhavavarman of Indo-China. Accession of Krishnavarman II, Kadamba. Kadamba Ganga alliance. Decline of Kadamba rule. Rise of the Chilukyas.
	Accession of Puinkësin I who captured Holsi. Gangas in Kalinga.
575	Accession of Simhavishnu, Pallava at Kāñelá, contemporary of Poet Bhāsavi. Kirtivaranan Chālukya who defeated the Kadambas and others.
609	Accession of Pulakësin II and his dig-
609-610	Vishativardhana, younger brother of Pulake- sin 1f, Vicetoy of Andhra, with his capital in the coastal districts.
	End of Vishnukumlia rule in Vēnei.

... Vishnuvardhana independent.
Founded the Eastern Chülukyan dynasty.

A.D.

VII Century

Harshavædhana of Kanauj (606-647 a.b.) Stüpa in Prome Dt. with inscriptions in Telugu-Kamada script,

Adhirāja Ādityadhimma of Sumatra.

Hastivarman and Instravarman, Gologos of Kalinga (†)

Jayasimha, Eastern Chālukya and his successors in Audhra.

Mahēndravarman, Narasimbayarman und their successors in Dravida.

Pulakēšin II and his successors in the Decean.

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VIII Century (?)... Borobudur and Prambanam temples in Java,





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